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ALFRED SMITH BARNES

HALF A CENTURY AS A SCHOOL-BOOK PUBLISHER

NO period in American history has ever been characterized by greater intellectual restlessness or fruitage than the two decades subsequent to 1825. A mere catalogue of the various books, libraries, clubs, charities, churches, educational institutions, newspapers, inventions, industries and business enterprises which sprang into existence within those years would furnish an instructive lesson. We are all familiar with the story of the long-baffled efforts and final success of Professor Morse in devising mechanical contrivances for conveying messages from point to point by means of electricity. We know how depressing were the original endeavors to bring steam into harness for propelling land-carriages. We recall with something akin to wonder the wholesale terror inspired by the first introduction of gas for lighting houses and streets; and the persistent vigor which, in spite of bitter opposition and in a time of great scarcity of money, brought pure water into the city of New York through a conduit of solid masonry forty-five miles in length, at a cost of upwards of nine millions of dollars. We look backward also to this same remarkable period for the foundation of the great newspaper system of the country, which has become such an engine of thought as well as power.

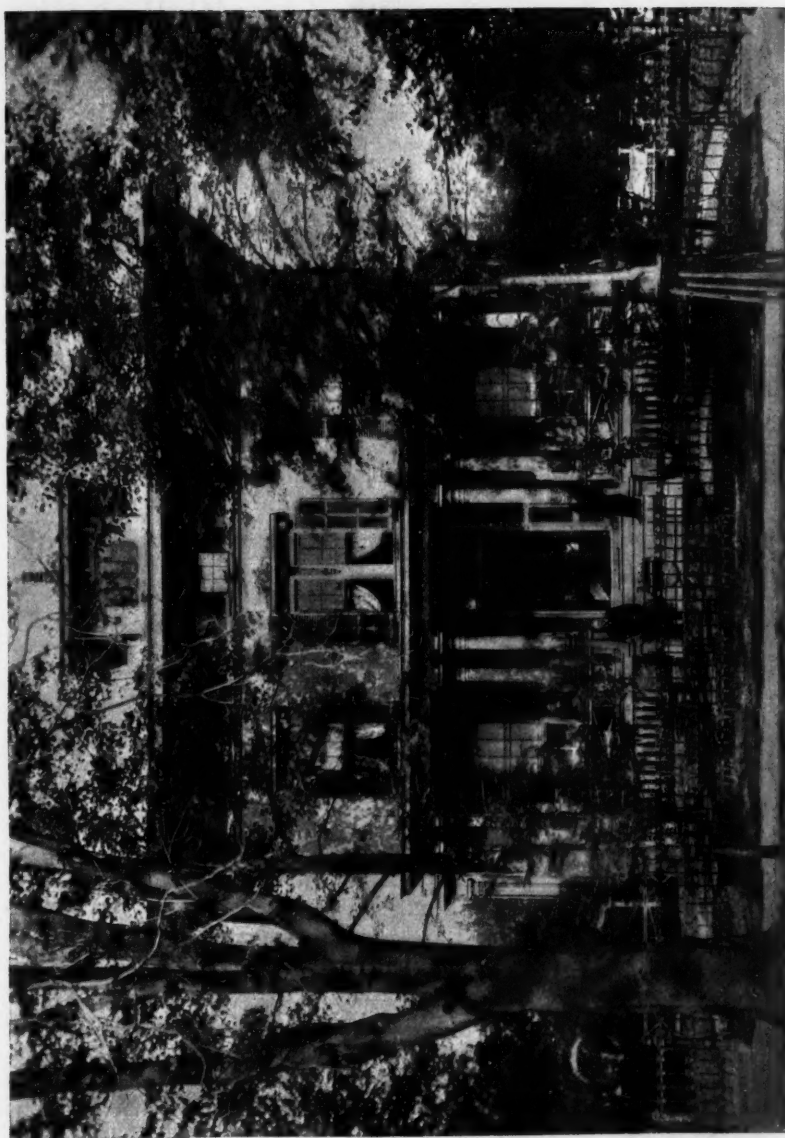
It was an era of important beginnings. Authorship took a fresh start, art received higher recognition than ever before, exhibitions of pictures and statuary became both lucrative and creditable, while the drama struggled for elevation in keeping with the advance of public taste. "The age is itself dramatic," wrote a prominent critic in 1837. There was an endless amount of groping experimentally in the dark, but the air was exhilarant with material progress and exciting possibilities. Among the most popular themes discussed in all quarters were the value of books as a means of culture, and the cause of common-school education. Far-sighted practical men were acting on the principle that no good citizen could afford to dwell in this world without the privileges of a public library;

and as the population multiplied, the American brain was actively trying to solve the problem of how to provide improved opportunities for the instruction of children.

In New England, more than in any other part of the country, education was the absorbing social topic. Money-making was an after-consideration. Birthright was by no means ignored, but it counted for little unless divested of all suspicion of ignorance. The standard by which men and women were measured was intelligence; and intellectual effort and achievement were the fashion.

The year 1837 will ever be memorable in the annals of America for its great financial perils and disasters sweeping the entire land. Banks closed their doors, enterprises of all descriptions came to a standstill, industries were paralyzed, and the working classes were plunged into a condition of extreme destitution. Partial relief only came with the following year. Yet it was in 1838 that the late Alfred Smith Barnes, at the age of twenty-one, founded the great school-book publishing house that bears his name, and of which he was the head and soul for just half a century. The train of circumstances connected with this event, in view of the condition of the times that gave it birth, will be found singularly interesting. Alfred S. Barnes was a native New Englander, born in New Haven in 1817, and breathed through all his early and maturing years the health-giving, brain-stirring atmosphere that has influenced the subsequent fortunes of so many of our countrymen. His father was of the old Puritan stock, with a back-ground of religious culture extending through many generations; his mother was of French Huguenot descent, her ancestor, who took refuge in America, having been the eminent divine Rev. M. De Luce. Losing his father when ten years of age, the future publisher went to live with an uncle in Hartford. His education was well cared for, and at sixteen he was employed by D. F. Robinson & Co., a Hartford publishing-house, with a salary of thirty dollars a year. In this field he grew rapidly in knowledge, for it furnished opportunities that he was in no sense inclined to waste for learning the business he afterwards followed with such marked success.

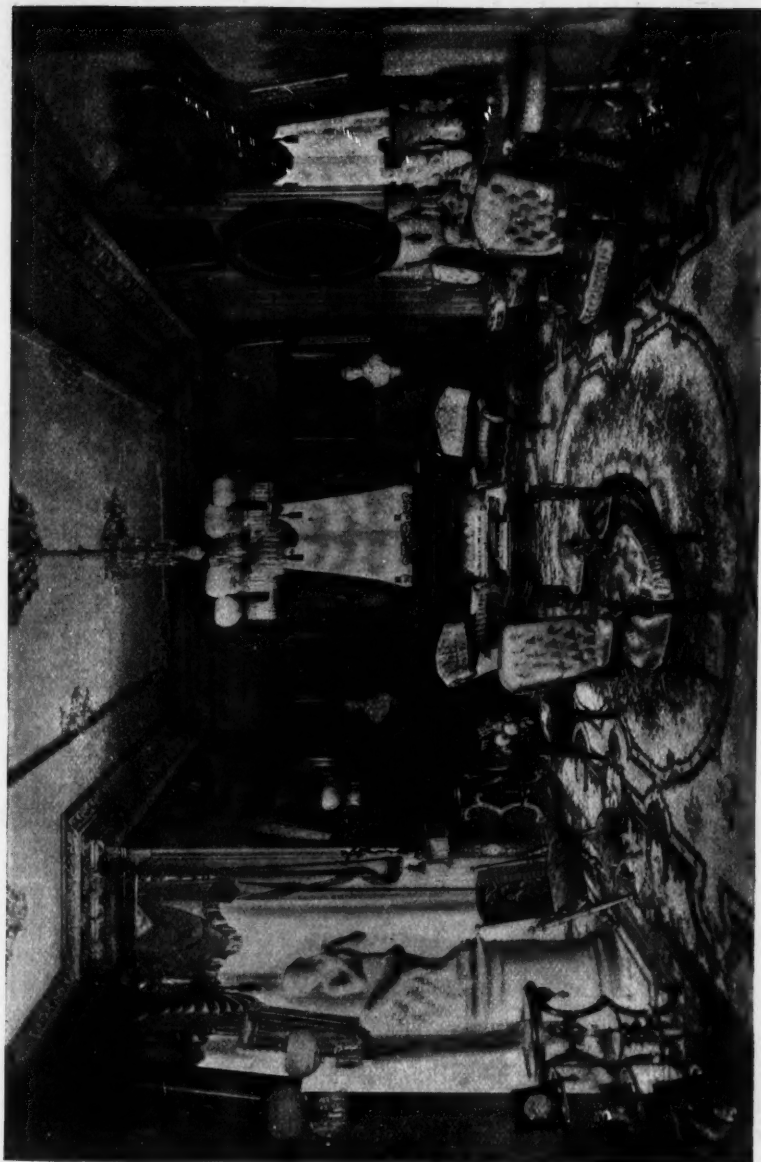
A few years rolled on; the bright boy-clerk was on the verge of manhood, when it so happened that he made the acquaintance of Charles Davies, then a professor in Trinity College, Hartford, who being an enthusiast in mathematics was devoting his spare moments to the preparation of a series of arithmetics, algebras, geometries, and kindred works for the use of schools. Young Barnes was at once interested, and presently in animated sympathy with the learned professor in his vigorous determina-



THE BROOKLYN HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES IN CLINTON AVENUE.

tion to produce the best text-books of the kind the world had yet seen. His wonderful clear-sightedness and natural taste for mathematical investigations did more than this, it induced him to offer himself as publisher of the series. The result was the formation of a partnership with Professor Davies for the issue and sale of these as yet unfinished school-books, an experiment almost without precedent in that decade, and one at which many an older if not wiser head would have shaken in such a crisis of affairs. A little office twelve by twenty feet in size was secured in Hartford, where, without cash capital, the business was opened. Book canvassers, like railroads, had not yet appeared to disturb the even tenor of American life, and as the first and most important feature of the venture was to create a market, young Barnes started out in person to introduce Professor Davies' mathematical text-books into the schools. Mrs. Emma Willard then resided in Hartford, and her histories were included for variety in the earliest publications of the new firm, and were canvassed for at the same time. For two years Alfred S. Barnes traveled from town to town and village to village, visiting all the schools and academies within a wide range of surrounding territory. He journeyed by country stages, on horseback, and in private conveyances, as chances offered, and he explained in the most courteous and convincing manner the superior merits of the new method of teaching and learning mathematics over the old. He was a mere stripling, but graceful, refined, unpretentious, and well-informed on every phase of mathematical science, and ready at all times to converse on general topics or play ball with the sons of the taciturn masters, as the case might be. He managed the enterprise so ingeniously that he had no disappointments nor ill luck to chronicle. The productions of Professor Davies were found to be all that he had represented; they were adopted by one institution of learning after another, soon becoming much talked about, then famous wherever the English language was spoken.

In his intercourse with the educators of the day, the youthful publisher naturally became conversant with existing defects in the primitive school-books then in use, and learned the general sentiment as to what ought to be provided for a starving generation. He made educational text-books a practical study. His plans for the future were formed on this basis. In 1840 he removed his business to Philadelphia, adding a wholesale department, in which he commenced handling the publications of other houses. The following spring, as he was returning from a long Western trip, he became quite unexpectedly one of the principal parties in a charming little romance. He had made the journey from Albany to Springfield by stage,



PARLOR IN THE CLINTON AVENUE HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES.

over that hilly region with its varied scenery—a singular mixture of the wild and the tame, the austere and beautiful—and with a sigh of relief from his excessive weariness found it possible at Springfield to secure passage for Hartford on the little stern-wheeled steamboat *Agawam*. Disposing of his modest baggage he went upon deck for a seat. His eyes almost immediately fell upon a remarkably beautiful young lady, whom he recognized as the daughter of General Timothy Burr of Rochester, formerly a resident of Hartford. He had seen her on a former occasion, and been much disturbed in consequence about the region of his heart; but the actual acquaintance of the young people dated from this lovely June afternoon as they were borne along over the placid waters of the Connecticut. Miss Harriet E. Burr was on her way to visit an uncle in Hartford, accompanied by her sister. The young publisher found it convenient to tarry in that ancient city of Hartford considerably beyond the limits of his leave of absence from Philadelphia, and when he departed it was with the prospect of meeting the lady again within a brief period. The summer came and went, but ere autumn dressed its forests and fields in their bright-colored robes words of love had been spoken, and a wedding day appointed. The happy pair were married in November, 1841, and their domestic life continuing for two score of years was one of great beauty and symmetry.

Mr. Barnes remained in Philadelphia until 1845, and then removed his publishing house to New York city, where it has ever since been firmly planted, growing and prospering until it has become familiarly known in every part of the civilized world. Soon after establishing himself in New York, Mr. Barnes originated the scheme of publishing a full and complete series of school-books, embracing every department of elementary and advanced education, styled "The National Series of Standard School-Books." Mr. Barnes did not go into this enterprise haphazard, but gave every manuscript submitted for the series a critical personal examination, for which he was admirably qualified through his experiences and acquirements. His industry at this period of his career was untiring, and his sound judgment and vigorous energy were never more conspicuous. He justly prided himself on the fact that no book ever bore his imprint that was not pre-eminently a "good book."

In this lay the grand secret of his extraordinary financial success; it is said that his personal accumulations at the time of his death were hardly less than four millions of dollars. Many of the school-books prepared and issued with such discriminating care had each the phenomenal sale of more than a million copies. These books were in numerous instances revised and improved to meet the fresh wants of advanced scholarship and taste in the



RECEPTION AND DINING-ROOM IN THE CLINTON AVENUE HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES.

schools, while others of sterling value were added to the list from year to year. The publications of A. S. Barnes & Co., as a rule, have been confined to school-books through the entire half-century of the firm's existence. A few works only of a miscellaneous character have been issued by the house, "among which," says a writer in the *Publishers' Weekly*, "Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's *History of the City of New York* and the music books used in many churches have added considerably to its financial prosperity."

Mr. Barnes made Brooklyn his residence after his first year in New York, his home being in Garden Street. He purchased later an acre or more of land in Clinton Avenue, then on the very outskirts of Brooklyn, and built the roomy mansion to which he removed his family in the spring of 1854. In this attractive and hospitable home he resided for thirty successive years. Here his four younger children were born, and here his whole army of ten were trained and equipped for the varied experiences of life. Here in 1866 Mr. and Mrs. Barnes celebrated their silver wedding, which was an occasion of more than ordinary interest. A brilliant assemblage of invited guests were crowding the parlors, in animated conversation, when suddenly the doors were thrown open, and the host and hostess entered followed by their ten children, the five sons ranged on the side with their father, the five daughters on the side with their mother, and one pretty little grandchild like a budding flower just plucked from the garden. One of the memorable incidents of this unique silver wedding was the presentation of a brooch emblematical of the occasion to the bride of a quarter of a century, Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs performing the ceremony with graceful language and sentiment. This brooch had for its centre a single diamond, representing the wife and mother; around the diamond were studded ten pearls, representing the ten children; around the ten pearls were placed twenty-five garnets, representing their years of married life; and outside of the garnets were inserted a circle of fifty brilliants, representing the age of the husband—by whom the brooch was designed and given.

Mr. Barnes identified himself from the first with the advancement of Brooklyn in everything that goes to make up the characteristics of a refined and intelligent community. His influence was always strenuously exerted for what he esteemed the city's highest welfare. As his income increased through the growth of his business, he disbursed money liberally. He was prominent in charities; he helped to build churches; he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Young Men's Christian Association, and of city and other missions; he was one of the Executive Committee of the Long Island Historical Society, contributing generously to its library fund, and

to the new building itself; he lent material aid in erecting the Academy of Music and the Mercantile Library, and in perfecting many other enterprises of an educational character. When he settled in Garden Street the Church of the Pilgrims had just been completed, and Rev. Dr. Storrs was installed in its pulpit within a very short period. He joined this church by letter, as did also Mrs. Barnes, and their second son was the first child baptized in the new church edifice. For a year or more after they removed to their home in Clinton Avenue they continued to attend Dr. Storrs' Sunday services, but owing to the distance, finally transferred their church



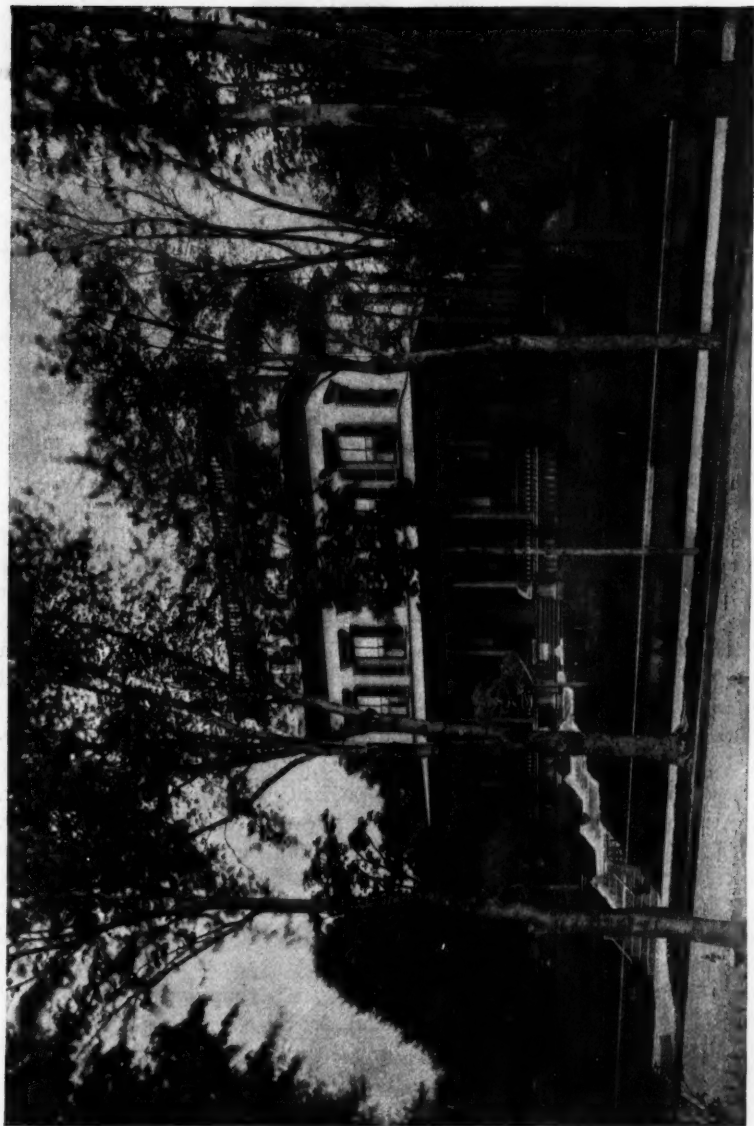
SUMMER COTTAGE OF ALFRED S. BARNES, COTTAGE CITY, MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

relations to the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, to which Rev. Dr. Budington was called in 1855. In his varied schemes of Christian and practical philanthropy Mr. Barnes always found in his wife a judicious and sympathetic counselor. She was herself an active worker in many charities, notably the "Old Ladies' Home," of which she was treasurer, and the "Home for the Friendless," on Concord Street, of which she was president for several years prior to her death in 1881. Dr. Storrs, in a glowing tribute to the memory of her noble and well-rounded life, said: "Empires go down, dynasties disappear; but the asylum, the hospital, the home for the sick, the institutions in which the blind are made to see and the dumb to

speak—these continue. So she has linked her life with those which are to testify of her in the future time. All good things last longer than we anticipate. Our analysis of the progress of households and of persons and of communities is always imperfect and uncertain, because we do not detect and cannot trace back to their sources those hidden influences that work for good. They are like the imperceptible threads of gold in some ancient tapestry. She did not start a good influence and leave it to circulate by its own gravitation merely, but she put ardor of spirit, energy, constancy, and concentration of resolution into that which she had to do. We often look upon buildings, and admire them for the perfect symmetry of their proportions. A poem sometimes impresses our thought by its absolute completeness of thought and expression. The picture on the canvas allures and holds our eye by the same charm of symmetrical harmony. Here is a life nobler than building or poem or picture, which seems attended by the same singular symmetry and finish of proportion."

Mr. Barnes had a delightful country home at Martha's Vineyard, which was filled every successive summer for many years with a merry throng of children and children's children, and was the seat of the most captivating hospitalities. He at different times traveled extensively in Europe, and across our own continent, making himself familiar with the world in all its magnificent proportions, and revealing his æsthetic tastes in the purchase of paintings, statuary, and other artistic treasures, with which to beautify his homes. He saw each of his ten children well married, with their families growing up around him. His five sons and one nephew were all associated with him in his great publishing business. His varied outside interests were so numerous that he was always exceptionally busy. He was one of the prime movers in the erection of the elevated roads, was connected with the Central Branch of the Union Pacific Railroad, was a director in the American Exchange Bank, the Hanover Bank, and the Home Insurance Company of New York, and the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn, and was specially identified with Cornell University—one of his last acts was to present \$45,000 to the Association of Cornell University; also with the Fisk University of Nashville, Tennessee, and the Adelphi and Polytechnic Academies of Brooklyn; the Faith-Home in Brooklyn received \$25,000 for its work. And he was an active member of thirty or more important and useful societies. During the later years of his life he gave to benevolent purposes not less than two-thirds of his princely income.

Some years after the death of his first wife, he married Mrs. Mary Matthews Smith, a lady of rare mental culture and great force of character—whose pen from time to time reveals the literary faculty, and whose hymns



THE HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES IN ST. MARK'S AVENUE, BROOKLYN.

and sacred poems have appeared in some of our leading periodicals, and in recent hymn-books. They went abroad for a year or two, and after their return Mr. Barnes purchased the elegant and spacious home in St. Mark's Avenue, in which he resided until his death.

This home was the scene of a Christmas festival in December, 1887, of a most novel and impressive character. The richly and heavily laden Christmas tree was in an upper room. The dinner table was spread in the drawing-rooms on the west side of the house, with covers for forty-nine guests. It was strictly a family party. On the left of Mr. Barnes sat his five daughters, each with husband and children in a family group; on the right of the master of the mansion sat his five sons, each with wife and children in a family group. It so happened in one instance that a daughter with five children sat exactly opposite a son with five children. There were sixteen grandsons at the table, and sixteen granddaughters.

It was a joyful occasion; but it proved to be the last Christmas of Mr. Barnes upon this earth. His work was finished. After a distressing illness he died on the 17th of February, 1888, lamented by all who knew him. Said Rev. Dr. Talmage: "In business circles for many a long day his name will be quoted for everything honorable; but my thought of him is chiefly of being the highest type of a Christian gentleman. He was one of the few successful men who maintained complete simplicity of character. After gaining the highest position, where he could afford to decline the mayoralty and congressional honors and all political preferment, as he did again and again, he was as artless in his manner as on the day when he earned his first dollar."

The school-book publishers held a commemorative meeting on Saturday, February 18, and one of the resolutions adopted reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That it is a source of gratification to us to point to Mr. Barnes as, in its truest sense, a representative man in his business career. He began life, as so many other successful American publishers have, with little to depend on except his own resources, and by integrity, industry, and a wide range of intelligence he succeeded in establishing a house whose name and character are known with respect throughout the United States. The public-school system of the country is especially indebted to his foresight and liberality for many of the most popular text-books that have ever been published. We commend the record of his life and character to the young men of America as one that can be studied and followed to their lasting advantage."

Mr. Barnes left many legacies of value, notably \$50,000 to be divided among the thirty societies of which he was an active member. Among

these was the City Mission and Tract Society. Dr. Storrs, in an eloquent tribute to his spotless character and constant usefulness in various channels, educational, social, commercial, and religious, said: "Perhaps no other institution has deeper reason to regret the departure of Alfred S. Barnes from the circles in which he was honored and useful than the City Mission and Tract Society, of which he has been a director for forty years, and its beloved president for ten years past, continuing in that office until the day of his death. We recall his faithful attendance at our meetings, his earnest love for the society, his readiness to listen to the counsel of others as well as to present his own views, his unfailing enthusiasm for the work to which the society is devoted, his general leadership in expanding its means of usefulness, and we feel that our loss can hardly be estimated, and hardly be supplied; that the time will not come to those who survive him, when they will cease to miss the counsel, the encouragement, and the gladness which his presence at our meetings always afforded."

The words recorded in the appreciative minute of the Long Island Historical Society should have a place here: "It is a rich and beautiful inheritance which any recent and sympathetic community, rapidly increasing in numbers and power, receives from the character and life as well as from the gifts of those who take part with continuing enthusiasm in establishing its institutions of culture, of charity, or of Christian worship. Their gifts of moral impulse and guidance are of even higher value than their pecuniary offerings. Unconsciously, perhaps, they set the standard toward which others are lifted; and the city itself, as well as the immediate household of one so intent on the public welfare, becomes to him a constant debtor. Its obligations to him continue while its history goes on. On the list of those who have thus made themselves permanent benefactors of the city in which we are glad to live, they who have known it during the forty years of Mr. Barnes' residence in it, will heartily join in giving to his name its place of honor."

It was under the auspices of the publishing-house of Alfred S. Barnes that the *Magazine of American History* was founded in 1877, and no one was more deeply interested than he in the educational work which this new and only periodical of its kind in the land was expected to perform. The well-known imprint of his house graced its title-page for six successive years; and when the change came in its management he still remained in active sympathy with its grand purposes, and one of its best friends.

Martha J. Lamb

## ANCIENT SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE

### THE MOUND BUILDERS WERE INDIANS

The ancient stone-grave cemeteries of Middle Tennessee are most interesting memorials of aboriginal life in America. They are peculiar to this section. The dead were placed in rude tombs or cists made of flat stones carefully laid. Sometimes they were laid in three or four tiers, forming burial mounds that contain more than a hundred graves. The remains and memorials placed within them were thus sealed up and preserved.

One of these aboriginal cemeteries, about five miles from Nashville, upon the waters of Brown's Creek, has recently been explored, in fact pillaged, and devastated by relic hunters and collectors. Notwithstanding its rough usage, it has yielded many rare and valuable specimens—some four or five hundred perfect pieces of ancient pottery, a number of them unique in form, and of such fine finish that they may be said to be almost glazed, cooking vessels, water jars, hanging vessels, drinking cups, ornamented and plain sets of ware, apparently for rich and poor and for the little children, basins, plates, and indeed an ample store for a well-supplied aboriginal cuisine; also pipes, implements, and an infinite variety of articles illustrating the domestic life of the ancient inhabitants of Tennessee.

Among the treasures found are a number of articles indicating some commercial development, a pipe made of "red pipestone," or catlinite, found only in Dakota Territory, more than a thousand miles distant, native copper from the shores of Lake Superior, ornamented sea shells from the Gulf and South Atlantic coasts, mica from North Carolina, exquisite polished implements of cannel coal, pearls from the southern rivers, implements of polished hematite from distant iron mines, and of steatite and quartz from the Allegheny range; also a large number of images or idols, some of them doubtless types of the very features and lineaments of the prehistoric race buried in these graves—evidently the ancient Indian aristocracy of this section.

No specimens of the kind of superior workmanship, or more distinctly outlining features and expression have been found, so far as I am informed, within the limits of the United States. In a child's grave in this ancient cemetery was also found a remarkable figure in clay nine inches long, intended to represent a little child or papoose tied to its hanging board, after the historical Indian style—a veritable little flathead.

Favorite implements of war or the chase were found beside the hunter, with vessels of provisions probably intended to supply him on his journey to the land of the Great Spirit. Toys and unique little rattles of clay were found beside the children, placed there, doubtless, by the hands of the ever-loving mother. No state in the Union has yielded rarer treasures to the archæologist or searcher among its antiquities than Tennessee.

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington, and the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts, our two largest depositories of American antiquities, probably contain a greater number of specimens from Tennessee than from any other section. Other private and public collections have also been greatly enriched by contributions from Tennessee. A vast ancient population occupied the fertile valley of the Cumberland, and left monuments and memorials of exceeding interest.

It is within the bounds of the truth to state that after more than a century of occupation by the whites, the burial grounds of its aboriginal inhabitants, within a radius of fifty miles from Nashville, contained the remains of a greater number of dead than the aggregate of the present cemeteries of the whites.

The ancient cemetery on Brown's Creek referred to numbered not less than two or three thousand graves. Professor F. W. Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, and his assistants have explored more than six thousand, the majority of them in this immediate section. Dr. Joseph Jones, a most intelligent investigator, examined a large number in some fifteen different cemeteries. Dr. Troost, the learned geologist of Tennessee, stated that "the ancient burial grounds on the banks of the Cumberland River opposite Nashville extended in 1844 more than a mile along the river," and there are still remaining, scattered here and there, within the central counties of Tennessee, hundreds of acres of unexplored aboriginal stone graves and burial mounds. They may be found along almost every water course and in most of the fertile valleys. Occasionally a large artificial mound springs up from the green sward or in some cultivated field, surrounded by lines of ancient earthworks, designating the site of a fortified town or village once inhabited by the stone-grave race.

The recent explorations near Nashville have excited renewed interest in the subject of archæology in Tennessee and elsewhere, and it is my purpose to consider briefly some of the questions suggested by these discoveries.

There are a number of popular errors regarding the mounds and works of this ancient race, notions and ideas unnecessarily mysterious and exaggerated. Their characteristics and importance are often magnified,

misunderstood, and wrongly interpreted. Ancient remains are generally overestimated by their discoverers—usually unlearned pioneers of investigation.

More patient and systematic research, a vast accumulation of valuable material, and a thorough analysis of facts and theories by competent authority, have finally unraveled nearly all the secrets of these works and graves, until their origin and the mysteries of their construction and of ancient domestic life in Tennessee—and indeed elsewhere in the Mississippi valley—represented by them, are nearly as well known as the life and history of the modern Indians.

The conclusions reached (often unwillingly) as the result of these investigations in all departments of research, historic, ethnologic, and traditional, may be briefly stated as follows :

1st.—The progress made by these ancient tribes in the direction of civilization or semi-civilization has been overestimated. The stone-grave race and the builders of the ancient mounds and earthworks in Tennessee and probably in the Mississippi valley were Indians, North American Indians, probably the ancestors of the southern red or copper-colored Indians found by the whites in this general section, a race formerly living under conditions of life somewhat different from that of the more nomadic hunting tribes of Indians, but not differing from them in the essential characteristics of the Indian race.

2d.—The interesting collections of mounds, earthworks, and stone graves found in Tennessee and Southern Kentucky are simply the remains of ancient fortified towns, villages, and settlements, once inhabited by tribes of Indians more devoted to agriculture and more stationary in their habits than the hunting tribes generally known to the whites.

3d.—No single implement or article of manufacture or earthwork or defensive work has been found among their remains indicating intelligence or advancement in civilization beyond that of other Indians having intercourse with the whites within the historic period.

4th.—The accumulation of dense population in favored localities, and progress made toward civilization, were probably the results of periods of repose and peace that enabled these tribes to collect in more permanent habitations, and to pursue for a time more peaceful modes of life than some of their neighbors and successors.

5th.—These periods of peace and advancement were probably succeeded by years of wars, invasions, migrations, or changes which arrested the limited development in the arts of peace and civilization, and left the native tribes in the status in which they were found by the whites.

These propositions I am satisfied can be successfully maintained, and will afford the most reasonable solution of archæological problems long in controversy.

If we could have been given a glimpse of the fair valley of the Cumberland in 1492, the date of America's discovery, there can scarcely be a doubt but that we would have found many of these ancient settlements full of busy life, and we could have learned the story of the mounds and graves from some of their own builders; but nearly three centuries elapsed before the pioneers of civilization reached the confines of Tennessee. It is true that, about fifty years after Columbus came, De Soto and his army (A.D. 1540) brushed along its southern border, rudely startling the native inhabitants; but they passed on across the great river and probably never came within the actual bounds of Tennessee. A hundred and thirty-two years then elapsed. In this long interval no European stepped within our limits so far as we know. In 1673 Marquette came in his shallow bark, floating down upon the broad waters of the Mississippi, its first white explorer.

A few years later came that intrepid French discoverer La Salle, but he only looked upon the swamps and forests of the river margin. Nearly a century was yet to elapse before the hardy pioneers of Virginia and Carolina scaled the mountains and claimed a home in the valley of the Watauga, or Daniel Boone started on the "Wilderness trail" for the far West.

In all these intervening years Tennessee, infolded in her ancient forests and mountain barriers—in her insulation remote from ocean, lake and gulf—was as unknown to the outer world as Central Africa.

France claimed her territory by right of discovery as part of Louisiana and Illinois. Spain called her Florida and set up her right. England assumed sovereignty over her as part of Virginia and Carolina, but none of them took possession.

Even her Indian claimants had to fight for their title. Vincennes in Indiana, Kaskaskia in Illinois, and New Orleans were founded. Texas and Missouri were colonized. Santa Fé in New Mexico, a thousand miles and more to the west, had become an old Spanish town; yet Tennessee was still without name or description, save that it was marked on the New World maps as "the unexplored land of the Ancient Shawnees."

These facts are stated to show how little history can tell us directly of Ancient Tennessee or of the stone-grave race, yet for nearly four hundred years, Spanish, French, and English travelers have published chronicles and manuscripts relating to the natives of the South Atlantic and Mexican

Gulf coasts, neighbors and allies of the tribes of the interior country, now known as Tennessee, and presumably akin to them in race and manner of life. Ponce de Leon came to Florida in 1512. De Ayllon, another Spaniard, visited the coast of South Carolina in 1520, and again in 1524. An Italian discoverer, Verrazano, visited the coast of North Carolina in 1524. He reports that he found the natives primitive in their habits, uncivilized, and numbering a large population. Narvaez, who vainly attempted in 1528 to conquer the country then called Florida (embracing Tennessee), found there populous towns, well fortified, and surrounded by extensive fields of corn and maize. Volumes of narrative and manuscript have also been left us by the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition.

About 1540 Cartier and Roberval, French pioneers of discovery, visited Canada, then claimed by Spain as their Florida of the North. The French Huguenots came under Ribaut, and attempted to plant a colony on the Carolina coast in 1562, nearly fifty years prior to the Virginia settlement at Jamestown.

Ribaut's published Journal describes in detail the character and habits of the natives on the coast and in the interior;—describes their villages, their agricultural habits, and their cultivated fields. Champlain and others gave faithful accounts of the Native Americans of the North. La Salle describes the natives of Arkansas and Texas as he found them in 1673. Other early French and Spanish writers describe with much particularity the habits, dress, and manners of the ancient tribes living on the Gulf coast.

From these journals and manuscripts sometimes buried for centuries in the great libraries of Europe, we have reasonably faithful information as to the history, traditions, and mode of life of the ancient inhabitants of the territory adjacent to and surrounding Tennessee.

The testimony of all, added to that of the Virginia and Puritan colonists, unite in establishing the fact, that all these native Americans, called by Columbus Indians, were alike in their main characteristics, a distinct race, peculiar to itself, without any well-defined or clearly traceable Old-World affinities or connections.

The swarthy red or copper or olive complexion, the dark eyes, the coarse, straight black hair, the high cheek-bones, were common to all, from the St. Lawrence River to Texas. Their half-nakedness, their simple and primitive habits, the drudgery of the women, the generally aquiline nose, the absence or scantiness of beards, their love of smoking, of gay colors, painted faces, feathers, plumes, feasts, dances, were noted by all these writers, and clearly indicated the remarkable unity of the race—recalling

the remark of Ulloa, the early Spanish governor of Louisiana—that "if we have seen one American, we have seen all, their color and make-up are so nearly alike."

Their chiefs and principal men were found with similar characteristics—haughty, taciturn, self-willed, impatient of reproof, faithful friends, and implacable enemies.

These early records, however, show no traces of an advanced civilization or of a superior race. They indicate that the southern tribes were generally gathered in villages, and were milder and more friendly in manner, and more devoted to agriculture than the tribes of the North and Northwest. A careful reading of the interesting though often unreliable *Chronicles* left us by De Soto's followers will, I think, give the best key to an understanding of town and village life in ancient Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas. (The antiquities and earthworks of these states are of the same general character.)

The principal towns of the natives were found to be well fortified and are described as "walled towns." They were surrounded by palisades formed by the trunks of trees, plastered with clay and straw, and surmounted at intervals with towers. They had protected openings or gateways. They sometimes contained a population of several thousand inhabitants. One town is mentioned containing six hundred houses.

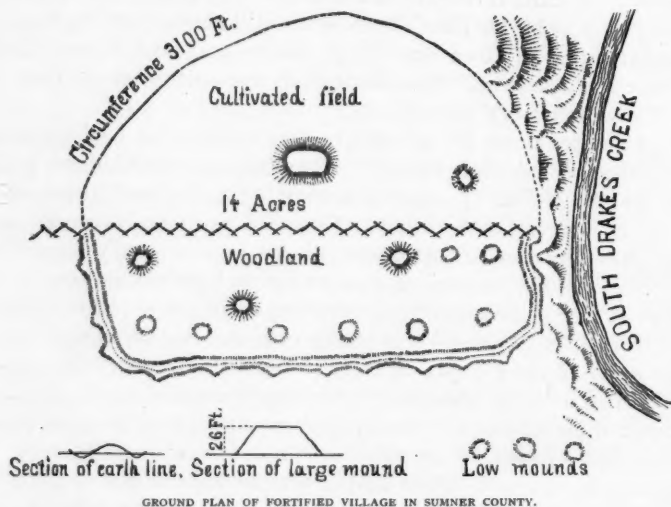
Some of the houses described were large enough to lodge a thousand or fifteen hundred people—great family or communal dwellings.

The house of the cacique, or chief of the settlement or tribe, was often built upon an artificial mound or raised foundation of earth. Sometimes the houses of his retainers or family were erected upon the same elevation. The so-called temples, or altars of worship, were also built upon raised foundations or mounds. A mound or temple is described as the place of burial of a chieftain. The common houses or huts were built of poles or rude timber, were plastered with clay and straw, and thatched with bark and cane. A number of towns were environed by artificial ditches filled with water. The three original historic accounts of De Soto's expedition unite in confirming the characteristics of ancient town and village life in the territory through which his army passed.\*

\* La Vega says: "The natives constructed artificial mounds of earth, the top of each being capable of containing from ten to twenty houses. Here resides the Cacique, his family and attendants. At the foot of this hill was a square according to the size of the village, around which were the houses of the leaders and most distinguished inhabitants. The rest of the people erected their wigwams as near to the dwelling of their chief as possible." "Conquest of Florida," Irving, pages 129, 317, 241. According to La Vega, these mounds were about eighteen to twenty-five feet high. "Prehistoric Times," Lubbock, page 273.

A careful consideration of these features with a map in hand, showing the present appearance and condition of any one of the many groups of ancient earthworks in Middle Tennessee—a group on the Harpeth River, or the works near Lebanon, Tennessee, or in Sumner County, Tennessee—will readily indicate the striking similarity of these remains to the ancient fortified towns described, and, indeed, will be conclusive of the fact that these earthworks are simply the remains of towns and villages, similar to those through which De Soto and his army passed in 1540-41, and then found active with busy life.

The long lines of earth that outlined the old walls with their well-se-



lected openings and projections, the ditches, the raised foundation mound, or pyramid of the chief's house—perhaps the mound that supported the rude temple or altar of worship—the rows of graves or burial mounds of the ancient cemetery will still be found. Sometimes the outlines of the low circular platforms upon which the common houses or wigwams were placed may be seen, as in the Lebanon group.

"The cacique's house stood near the shore upon a very high mound made by hand for strength."—"Gentlemen of Elvas." Historical Col. of La., Part II. page 123; see also Idem—Biedma, page 105. For description of fortified villages and walled towns, see "Gentlemen of Elvas." Historical Col. La., Part II., pages 157, 158, 173; also La Vega, "Conquest of Florida," Irving, pages 261, 262.

A ground plan of the group of mounds on the Rutherford farm in Sumner County, near Saundersville, Tennessee, as they now appear, will give a tolerably correct idea of one of these ancient fortified villages.\*

This work incloses about fourteen acres. The earth-lines and smaller mounds in the cultivated field are nearly obliterated, but in the woodland they are well preserved. The mound of the chief, or the mound of observation near the centre, nearly twenty-six feet high, has still its flat top platform, its sharp outlines and steep sides. It is about 318 feet in circumference and is entirely artificial, having been constructed of earth excavated near its base. The small elevations are burial mounds, with stone graves radiating from the centre. The next in size are probably house or wigwam mounds. They are circular in form, averaging about thirty feet in diameter, with the remains of burned clay or ancient fire hearths in the centre. At irregular intervals along the earth-lines in the woodland, angles of earth project about ten feet beyond the general line, indicating the location of towers or rude bastions in the stockade or wall line. Some of them were doubtless protected openings or gateways. In the burial mounds have been found many fine implements and vessels of pottery.

The ancient earthworks near Lebanon, Tennessee, are of the same general character.†

This is a good type of an ancient fortified or walled settlement. It contains about ten acres of land. The usual great mound is near the centre (A). A large number of the smaller elevations were found to be the remains of lodges or wigwams. When the earth was cleared away, hard, circular floors were disclosed with burned clay or ancient hearths in the centre, indicating that these habitations were similar in form to the circular lodges of many tribes of modern Indians, arranged for fires in the centre, and doubtless they had openings in the roof to let out the smoke.

The fact that these houses or wigwams were irregularly scattered within the inclosures also establishes the primitive character of the settlement; yet beneath the floors of these rude structures, and within the adjacent burial mounds, were found some of the finest specimens of pottery and ancient art yet discovered among the mounds, indicating that these villagers of the stone-grave race had reached a stage of development probably equal to that of any of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Mississippi valley.

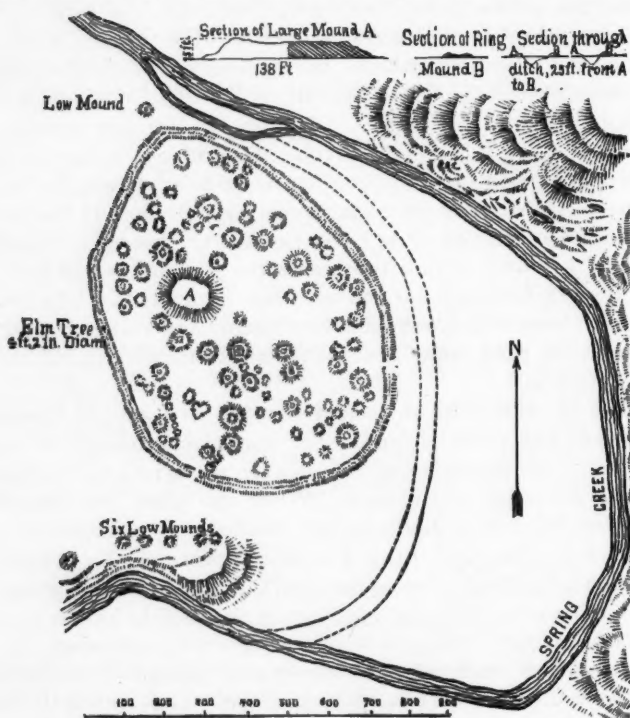
No pottery or pipes or implements have been found, within the more elaborate earthworks of the Ohio valley, in finish or workmanship superior

\* Surveyed by W. H. Edwards, Esq., and drawn by the writer.

† Map reduced from Prof. F. W. Putnam's plan in the 11th Annual Report Peabody Museum, page 338.

to those taken from the graves and tumuli in Tennessee. The pottery found in Ohio is usually of ruder character than Southern pottery.

It requires little effort of the imagination to picture Ancient Society in one of these settlements in Tennessee, to crown the long, lowlines of earth again with their strong palisades, to place the rude house of the chief upon its high pyramid overlooking the village and the far country,



THE LEBANON GROUP.

to repopulate the council house, the family dwellings, humble and spacious hives of busy life, to replace the altar of the sun worshipers in its rude temple, to see the near-by burial mounds consecrated by the bones of their heroes, the gay colors of the warriors, the trappings of the hunters, the toiling of the women, the basket and cloth makers, the yelping throng of half-naked children and dogs, the medicine man with his herbs and kettles, the dealer in implements and vessels of stone, clay and shell, the

trader, perhaps from a far country, with his wares and strings of shell money, the pipe maker, the flint chipper, the fisherman, all necessary features of ancient town and village life in the South as described by early writers in their account of the Southern Indians.

Now, picture this town swept by the desolation of war or rudely pillaged by the marauding soldiery of De Soto—picture it after the lapse of three centuries!

Fire and decay have consumed its strong palisades, its great houses, and all that was left of wood. The raised foundations and pyramids of earth with their steep sides may have become commonplace hillocks.

The dense forest has again spread over the scene. Giant trees are covering its graves and ditches. Time and probably the plowshare of the pioneer have almost obliterated the lines of the crumbled wall.

You thus have the true story of ancient society in Tennessee and of the monuments and remains of the stone-grave race.

The young oaks that sprung up on the mounds that De Soto left desolate and unoccupied in 1541 would now be three hundred and forty-seven years old—old enough indeed to be lords of the forest. Most of the earthworks in Tennessee and the Mississippi valley doubtless date from a period anterior to the time of De Soto—probably centuries anterior. The testimony of his followers is given, however, to show their objects and uses, and to solve at least some of the apparent mysteries of their construction.

The accounts left us by the historian of the Narvaez expedition into Florida in 1564 confirm these views.

We learn from Dumont's memoirs also, that near the mouth of the Yazoo River in Mississippi were the villages of the Offogoulas and other Southern Indians built upon mounds artificially made.\*

Dumont also says the cabin of the chief of the Natchez Indians "was on an elevated mound." La Petit, a missionary among the Natchez Indians, mentions that "the residence of the great chief or 'brother of the Sun,' as he was called, was erected upon a mound of earth carried for that purpose." Du Pratz, the early historian of Louisiana, states that the house of the Great Sun of the Natchez stood upon a mound "about eight feet high, and twenty feet over on the surface," and that the temple of the priest was on a mound about the same height.†

It is a matter of comparatively recent history that when the French and Choctaws defeated the Natchez Indians in Mississippi in 1730, the latter established themselves upon the Black River, where they erected

\* Hist. Collection La., Part 5, page 43.

† Quoted by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

mounds and embankments for defense. These defenses covered an area of four hundred acres, and could still be seen as late as 1851.\*

The pyramids of earth raised by the Choctaws over their dead when collected together, as described by Bertram, who traveled among these Indians in 1777, are in the form of some of our Southern burial mounds. †

James Adair, who lived among the Southern Indians forty years, and published his history of them in 1775, generally confirms these views.

A large mound of earth was erected by the Osage Indians on the Osage River, in Missouri, during the present century, in honor of one of their dead chiefs. ‡

The earthworks of Western New York, long regarded as the unquestioned remains of an ancient race of mound builders, were, after careful exploration, declared to be the remains of the stockade forts of the Iroquois Indians, or their western neighbors, and of no great antiquity. §

They are often exact counterparts of our fortified works in Tennessee. One of these stockade forts of the Iroquois is minutely described by Champlain, who attacked it in 1610. A familiar old print of this remarkable structure is given in the Documentary History of New York. ||

The lines of stockades, the ditches, the great houses inside, all recall some of the descriptions in the chronicles of De Soto, and show a marked similarity to our Tennessee remains.

The Iroquois nearly three centuries ago had acquired a knowledge of military defense that the armies of the North and South had to learn during the late war by costly experience. La Salle tells us they built a rude fort of earth and timbers every night they encamped near the enemy.

Cartier found the site of modern Montreal occupied by a strongly fortified Indian town in 1535. On approaching it, nothing could be seen but its high palisades. They were made of the trunks of trees set in triple rows. Transverse braces formed galleries between them to assist the defenders. Lewis and Clark describe the forts built by the Mandans and other Indians of the Northwest in 1805, with raised stockades, ditches and fortified gateways. Captain John Smith, the founder and historian of the first Virginia colony, writes that the Indians of Virginia had "palisaded towns."

Bienville of Louisiana in 1735 attacked a Chickasaw village protected by a strong fort. He was repulsed, with heavy loss. The palisade wall was six feet thick, arranged with loopholes, covered with heavy timbers. ¶

\* Pickett's Alabama, Vol. I., page 166.

§ *Ibid.*, page 83.

† Bertram's Travels, pages 514, 515.

|| Vol. 3, page 15.

‡ Ab. Mon. N. Y., Squier, page 107.

¶ Hist. Memoirs La., Part 5, page 110.

The plan of the "Battle of the Horse Shoe," where the Creeks, protected by breastworks, fought General Andrew Jackson in 1814, indicates that these Indians possessed considerable knowledge of military defensive works. The original sketch drawn by the General is appended to his interesting report of the battle, made to Governor Blount of Tennessee.\*

General Jackson states in his Report that "Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defense, and barbarians never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of land which leads into it from the north, they had erected a breastwork of great compactness and strength,



from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of portholes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projectors of it than its construction. An army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy who lay in security behind it." Surely no prehistoric defensive work could receive a higher compliment from higher military authority!

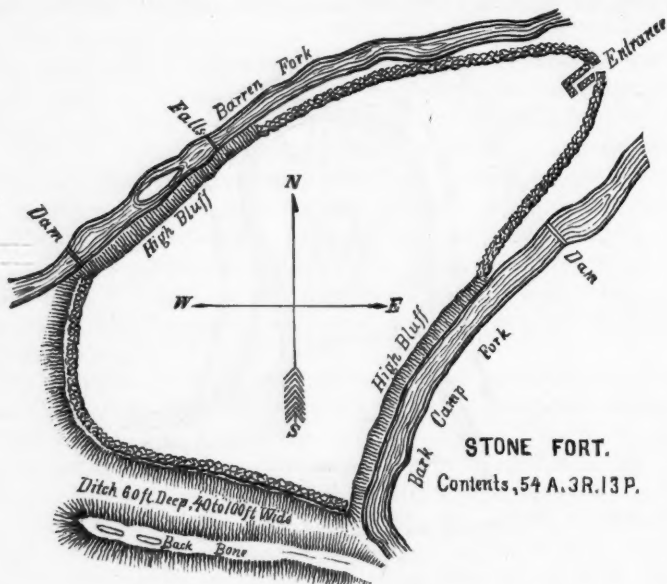
These instances have been selected to show the knowledge of military defensive works possessed by the modern Indians. This knowledge was not inferior to that of the so-called mound builders. That the works of the

\* Traced by the writer from the original report in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville.

latter surpassed in magnitude all modern native earthworks does not necessarily indicate a higher order of intelligence, nor is there any deep mystery in their larger proportions.

There is, indeed, a striking similarity in all these native works of defense, whether ancient or modern. I have visited a number of the great mounds of the Ohio valley. They are remarkable structures—monuments of labor and patience.

Imagine a thousand Indians—women and children—men, also—with



baskets of willow and skins, bearing on heads and shoulders the alluvial soil from the river side, to raise a mighty memorial to some great warrior, or to build a strong defensive work as a protection against a dreaded enemy, or a towering home for an honored chief, and it will not be difficult to account for most of these large earthworks.

I have seen the busy throng of a hundred or more Italian women and boys with baskets removing the earth that covered ancient Pompeii. The ashes of Vesuvius, nearly nineteen centuries old, buried the city twenty feet deep; yet about one-half of the entire city has been uncovered and laid bare to the eyes of the travelers. Less than a tithe of this vast labor

of removal would have erected the largest purely artificial mound in the Mississippi Valley.

The highest of the great mounds of America, at Cahokia, Illinois, is but one-fifth of the height of the solid stone pyramid of Gizeh on the banks of the Nile; and how insignificant does the largest system of native American earthworks appear, when compared with a work of antiquity like the Chinese Wall, built long prior to the Christian era!

There is an interesting ancient work near Manchester, Tennessee, called the "Stone Fort." It differs from the other aboriginal defensive works in Tennessee, in its partial construction of stone, yet upon examination we find there is no masonry in it, no wall of stone. Large stones from the adjacent river were used with the earth in building in. Its position is well selected for defense, but it shows no greater skill in engineering than other Indian earthworks. It is similar in construction to a number of works in the Ohio valley.\*

#### INDIAN AGRICULTURE

The large population necessary to have enabled the ancient tribes of our great river valleys to construct these works, has been given as a reason why they should not be attributed to the ancestors of the red Indians. It is argued that such population could only have been supported by a race devoted mainly to agriculture. It seems to have been presumed that the modern Indians knew little or nothing of the cultivation of land as a means of living, yet we find upon investigation that all the historic tribes were more or less devoted to agricultural pursuits. The Southern Indians, the Iroquois, the Ohio and Illinois tribes cultivated immense fields of maize or corn, especially during periods of repose and freedom from wars. The Choctaws, in their ancient home east of the Mississippi River, were called "a nation of farmers."

Adair mentions a maize field of the Catawbias of South Carolina "seven leagues long," a field that would do credit to the prairie-farms of the West. Think of cultivating such a field with the rude wood and stone implements of the Indians!

The Plymouth Fathers were taught the art of planting and raising corn by the Indians. Drake tells us that King Philip, the great chief of the Pequots, "had a thousand acres of corn at Mount Hope."

Henry Hudson, who sailed up the Hudson River in 1609, writes that he "found dried corn and beans enough in and about one house on the bank of the river to load three ships, besides what was growing in the field."

\* Slightly changed from plan in "Antiquities of Tennessee," Jones, p. 100.

General Anthony Wayne reported that he never saw such large maize fields as the Miami Indians cultivated.

The granaries and caches of the natives furnished the soldiers and horses of De Soto their main supplies.\*

In his expedition against the Cherokees in 1779 General Shelby is said to have destroyed more than 20,000 bushels of corn. Hawkins tells us that to constitute a legal marriage among the Muskogees [Creeks] the man "must build a house, make his crop, and gather it in; then make his hunt and bring home the meat; that when all was put in possession of the wife, the ceremony was ended and the woman bound, and not till then."

What better proof do we need of the ability of the Southern Indian to support himself by agriculture than the progress made by the tribes removed to the Indian Territory?

The Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, have not only become "a nation of farmers," but are far advanced on the march toward civilization.

Hominy, succotash and mush were evidently included in the regular aboriginal menu.

Those instances of Indian success in agriculture might be multiplied indefinitely.†

They clearly establish the fact that the advanced tribes of historic Indians had the ability to support the population necessary to the erection of even the greatest mounds.

#### MOUNDS OF RECENT DATE

We have, however, direct testimony that some of these mounds, long regarded as the exclusive work of an ancient and more civilized race, have been built by modern Indians since the period of European discovery.

There are a number of instances, well authenticated, where articles certainly of modern European manufacture and origin, have been found in mounds, undistinguishable in general character from more ancient mounds.

Col. C. C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians,"‡ reports at least one absolutely certain instance where "a portion of a rusty old-fashioned sword," evidently of European manufacture, was found in a

\* Hist. Col. La., Part 5, page 203.

† This subject is considered at length and with much force by Mr. Lucius Carr in "Mounds of Mississippi Valley," page 7.

‡ "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," page 131.

mound with decayed bones of a skeleton alongside of pottery, and a stone cell. Atwater, a well-known archæologist, tells us of his discovery in an Ohio mound of articles of silver and iron of modern European origin.

Prof. F. W. Putnam, in the 14th annual publication of the Peabody Museum, reports the discovery by Dr. Mack, in Florida, of glass beads and ornaments of silver, brass and iron, deeply imbedded and associated with pottery and stone implements of native manufacture, all found in a burial mound, and furnishing conclusive evidence that the Indians of Florida continued to build mounds over their dead after contact with the Europeans.

The National Bureau of Ethnology also reports in detail similar discoveries in a number of mound explorations in Wisconsin, North Carolina, Illinois and Arkansas.\*

It has thus become a well-settled fact in American archæology, that modern tribes of Indians have to some extent been builders of mounds within the historic period, and that it is not necessary to attribute our ancient remains in Tennessee to any other or more civilized race than the ancestors of our Southern Indians.

#### ART IN ANCIENT TENNESSEE

Passing from the mounds and earthworks to a consideration of the manufactured articles or antiquities, images, implements, pottery, pipes, tablets and pictographs of the ancient inhabitants of Tennessee or the Mississippi valley as a test of their civilization or development, we find an interesting field of inquiry.

The result may be summed up under two heads:

First. Nothing has been found in mound or grave or elsewhere in Tennessee or the Mississippi valley, showing an advanced state of civilization or semi-civilization. No article has been found requiring in its manufacture skill or intelligence beyond the capacity of the best representative tribes of modern Indians.

Second. No antiquarian or archæologist can distinguish the implements, pottery, pipes or inscriptions of the mound-building people from the same general character of articles manufactured by the more advanced tribes of modern Indians within the historic period.

It seems strange that among the vast stores of material discovered in these mounds, graves and ancient habitations, no single article has been

\* Report Bureau Ethnology, 1882-83, page xxxii.

found indicating an advanced state of society. Rare and unique forms of stone, clay, bone, shell and copper; mysterious objects whose exact uses we cannot always discover, beautiful implements, wrought with infinite labor and no little skill have been found in abundance; yet all indicate, or are consistent with, the theory of a comparatively rude and primitive state of society.

No prehistoric implement, or article of iron, or evidence of manufactured iron, has been found, excepting objects made from the unmelted ores. Rude articles of native copper hammered into form and an occasional ornament of hammered silver have been discovered, but none of melted copper or bronze or silver.

No writing or intelligible inscription indicating a written language or decipherable symbol language, no pictograph or tablet or inscription approaching the higher grades of hieroglyphic writing, no cloth or fabric except of coarse or rude manufacture, no piece of masonry or stone wall, or of architecture worthy of the name, or trace of burned brick wall, has been found.

Utensils and objects of well-burned clay are found in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and elsewhere, of varied, original and even artistic form, interesting mementos of ancient life, but they indicate no knowledge of the potter's wheel. They are without glaze, and are but comparatively rude conceptions, fashioned by the hand.

The images or idols of stone found are rude, and belong to a low grade of sculpture.

Indeed all the infinite variety of articles and antiquities found within the widely extended limits of the Mississippi valley, once occupied by a widely spread native population, after centuries of exploration, tell only the same story of primitive barbaric life, the life of the town, village, and hunting Indian.

Obsidian from Mexico has been found in our ancient graves and mounds. Doubtless some other articles, images or tablets in clay or stone are of the same origin. The mound builders have been thus credited with the more skilled workmanship of the Mexican or Aztec; still, none of these articles indicate an advanced state of society.

Again, when we come to draw the line separating the implements, images or hand-work of these prehistoric peoples from those of the modern Indians, we find no certain test by which to classify or distinguish them. Neither skill in workmanship nor beauty of form can be relied upon as a test. I have in my collection a shelf of ancient pipes from the mounds and graves, and one of pipes made by modern Indians. No one

can tell with entire certainty the antique from the modern, or whether one came from an ancient mound or from a modern Indian camp.

The most exquisite piece of work of the whole number is a pipe of red pipestone I purchased in Dakota years ago from a chief of the Sioux tribe.

The large gray stone pipe, once used by the great chief Tecumseh and owned by Col. Sam Morgan, of Nashville, does not differ from a number of specimens found in the mounds of Tennessee and Georgia.

Captain John Smith, in his quaint history of Virginia, describes the stone pipes, in which Powhatan and his "wild courtiers" smoked their tobacco—pipes like our antique western specimens, carved in the form of birds and animals, and as Smith says, "heavy enough to beat out one's brains."

Hennepin and Marquette carried large stone pipes or calumets as symbols of peace and friendship in their voyages of discovery. Adair mentions that the Cherokees made beautiful stone pipes in imitation of birds and animals. Lieutenant Timberlake, who traveled among the Cherokees in 1761, reports the same fact. We may thus be assured that it is not necessary to ascribe the large or quaint stone pipes found in Tennessee to any more ancient or civilized race than the modern Shawnee or Cherokee Indians.

Flint implements and arrow-heads similar to our old field and mound flints have been made in quantities by the Indians up to a recent period. The highly polished discoidal stones, among the most beautiful and symmetrical of the implements, Adair tells us, were used by the modern Southern Indians as gaming stones.

No one who has seen the hand-work of even the degenerate Indians of to-day in Canada or the Northwest, has failed to observe that as a race they are naturally gifted with taste and dexterity in making useful and ornamental articles.

The ancient people of the Mississippi valley left behind them no implements superior to the work of the Iroquois or the Cherokee.

The finding of terra-cotta and earthenware of good quality in the graves and mounds of the Mississippi valley has been regarded as an indication of a superior race and of a higher civilization. Yet we find many tribes making and using the same general class of pottery within the historic period. The historian of De Soto's campaign declares that the pottery found in use by the natives of Arkansas and elsewhere equaled standard Spanish ware.\*

Le Moyne in 1564 contributes a number of illustrations of the forms of

\* Hist. Col. La. Part 2, p. 201.

pottery in use among the Southern Indians. Captain John Smith says, "the Indians of Virginia used pottery of clay made by the women." Lewis and Clark in 1805 found the Mandans and other natives of the Northwest using vessels of clay and stone.

Marquette, the discoverer of the Mississippi, in his account of his visit to the Indians in Arkansas and Mississippi in 1673, writes that "they used in cooking large earthen pots, very curiously made, also large baked earthen plates, which they used for different purposes." \*

Adair and Lieutenant Timberlake both mention the use and manufacture of pottery by the Cherokees. The former states that when he visited them—as late as 1774—they made "earthen pots containing from two to ten gallons, large pitchers to carry water, bowls, dishes, platters, basins, and a prodigious number of other vessels of such antiquated forms, as would be tedious to describe and impossible to name;" a statement that certainly accurately describes the motley assortment of pottery found in our Tennessee mounds and graves. †

The Natchez Indians were so skillful in making their "red-stained pottery," that Du Pratz, the historian of Louisiana, states that he had them make for him a set of plates for his table use. ‡

Bertram states that the Indians of Alabama made and used utensils of earthenware when he visited them in 1777. §

The ability of the mound-building tribes to make finely finished stone implements and vessels of hand-made earthenware cannot be regarded as indicating an advanced state of culture, although there is a wide-spread popular impression to the contrary. The most savage races have been able to make finely wrought weapons of war and of the chase. This resulted from a natural mechanical instinct, rather than from culture.

Sir John Lubbock, in writing of the skill of certain savage tribes in making ornaments and weapons, says, "their appreciation of art is to be regarded rather as an ethnological characteristic, than as an indication of any particular stage of civilization." ||

The same learned author refers to the art of making pottery as "one

\* Hist. Col. La., Part 2, p. 295.

† The writer has a large number of these forms in his collection varying in size from delicate little vessels an inch in diameter to pots holding twelve gallons.

‡ The women make pots of an extraordinary size, jars with a medium-sized opening, bowls, two-pint bottles with long necks, pots or jugs for containing bear's oil, which hold as much as forty pints, and finally plates and dishes in the French fashion."—Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II., p. 279.

§ "Bertram's Travels," ed. 1792, p. 511.

|| "Prehistoric Times," Lubbock, p. 549.

of the rude arts easily acquired by savages." He says the Hottentots and Fuegians, races grading very low in the scale of civilization, made and used pottery.\* And Birch, in his work on "Ancient Pottery," states that "clay is a material so generally diffused, and its plastic nature so easily discovered, that the art of working it does not exceed the intelligence of the rudest savage."† Schoolcraft says the arts of planting corn and making pottery came together.‡

These authorities make it clear that art had made but an humble start among the mound-building tribes, and had not advanced beyond the status of other savage races, or beyond that of the red Indian of America.

It may also be stated that, in view of the manufacture and general use of pottery among the historic Southern Indians, there is no certain evidence that our Tennessee grave and mound pottery is of very great antiquity, or that it all antedates the visit of Marquette in 1673.

It cannot be of much later date, however, for that is about the latest period of permanent Indian occupation. Leather thongs or strings not yet decayed were found in a stone grave near Nashville by Dr. Joseph Jones.§ Professor F. W. Putnam found the fragment of a string in a stone grave on Fort Zollicoffer.|| In both cases they were attached to copper ornaments, and thus probably preserved.

The writer found in a stone grave in the same ancient cemetery on the bank of the Cumberland, a small, well-preserved, carved wooden wheel. A thin film of copper covering it had probably partly preserved it. In an adjoining stone grave was found a small but perfect specimen of pottery, indicating a contemporaneous burial.

Fragments of wood not entirely decayed are also frequently found in the burial mounds of Tennessee. These indications point to the comparatively recent origin of at least some of the graves and tumuli of the Cumberland valley. Haywood, in his "Aboriginal History of Tennessee," states that in 1819 a white oak tree growing on the top of the "Stone Fort" near Manchester, Tennessee, was cut down, and contained 357 "annulars" or rings.¶

This ancient landmark was therefore but 78 years old when De Soto landed on the coast of Florida. An elm tree about four feet in diameter is still standing on the earthwork near Lebanon. These trees indicate a very considerable age, yet there are familiar old elms at Salem and in the suburbs of Boston and elsewhere in New England—elms planted since the

\* "Prehistoric Times," pp. 551, 555.

§ "Antiquities in Tennessee," p. 45.

† Introduction, p. 1.

|| 11th An. Report Peabody Museum, p. 307.

‡ Schoolcraft, Part I., p. 61.

¶ Ab. Hist. Tenn., p. 170.

advent of the Europeans—that fully equal in size the Lebanon elm, or the largest trees I have observed growing upon the ancient works.

#### THE CRANIA OF THE STONE-GRAVE RACE.

In the effort to discover the race or tribal affinities of our stone-grave builders ethnologists have made a careful study of physical structure, and especially of the crania found in the graves, but without any very definite or satisfactory results. They have not been able to trace radical or definite characteristics separating them from the modern Indians, or, indeed, any well-defined forms to distinguish them from the ancient Mexicans, or Pueblo builders of the far West.

The Smithsonian Institution has published the results of Dr. Joseph Jones' faithful explorations and studies in this department.\*

The Peabody Museum has also published the very intelligent observations of its assistant curator, Mr. Lucian Carr, upon some sixty-seven crania carefully taken from the stone graves and mounds of Middle Tennessee. Careful measurements are given, comparisons made, results classified, but they do not indicate a distinct race or an advanced development.

Long skulls and short (the high and low grades) have been found side by side in the same mound. Skulls, in their types and capacity almost as widely apart as the Negro and Caucasian, have been found in adjoining graves, indicating a very ancient admixture of tribes or races—an admixture so remote, in fact, that the science of craniology has not been able to dispel the confusion, or trace its origin, or the lines of descent that have united in forming the sharply defined Indian race of the Mississippi valley.

Mr. Carr states that the crania from the stone graves of Tennessee, as a rule, indicate a higher order of intelligence than the ancient Peruvian, the native Australian, or the Hottentot; but he concludes with the observation that it would be a vain effort to try to conjure up the vision of an extinct civilization by the study of these crania.

A large number of clay images found in our stone graves and idols of stone from the mounds and ancient village sites have been examined with a desire to trace race characteristics in their faces or features, but they afford very unsatisfactory results. The types are so varied, and the native art so crude, that they must be generally regarded as accidental forms. I have, however, in my collection, at least one excellent specimen of as pure and well-defined a modern Indian type as the face and features of Sitting Bull or Black Hawk.

\* "Antiquities of Tennessee," Jones, p. 110.

A genuine red Indian was undoubtedly in the mind of the native artist or sat as the model for this unique image in clay. A few of the images also are so marked and individual in their expression that they seem to have been efforts at portraiture. The little clay papoose on its hanging board is certainly a modern red Indian type of the flat-head tribe. Thus, when the whole field is worked over, the conclusion must be reached that it has been a mistake to regard the mound builders as a distinct and advanced race. They were evidently the *ancestors of the modern Indians, nothing more*. This is the simplest solution of the problem as to their nationality. Any other theory regarding them must be mainly mere conjecture.

Col. C. C. Jones, eminent authority on this subject, writing of the earthworks of Georgia, which approximate in size the largest tumuli of the Ohio valley, states: "We do not concur in the opinion so often expressed, that the mound builders were a race distinct from, and superior in art, government, and religion to, the Southern Indians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." \*

The late Lewis H. Morgan, a most original and learned ethnologist, in an article upon the houses of the aborigines of America, states: "It will be assumed that the tribes who constructed the earthworks of the Ohio valley were Indians. No other supposition is tenable. The implements and utensils found in the mounds indicate very plainly that they had attained to the middle status of barbarism. . . . They fairly belonged to the class of sedentary village Indians, though not in all respects of an equal grade of culture and development." †

Major J. W. Powell, the Director of the National Bureau of Ethnology, has also given an opinion to the same effect. "With regard to the mounds so widely scattered between the two oceans," he states, "it may be said that mound-building tribes were known in the early history of discovery of this continent, and that vestiges of art discovered do not excel in any respect the arts of the Indian tribes known to history."

Major Powell also quotes approvingly the opinion of W. H. Holmes, of the National Museum, relative to the pottery found in the mounds, that "there is no feature in it that cannot reasonably be attributed to the more advanced historic tribes of the valley where it is found." ‡

And in an interesting article upon "Animal Carvings from the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," Mr. H. W. Henshaw, of the National Museum,

\* "Antiquities of Southern Indians," Jones, p. 135.

† Contributions to North Am. Ethnology, Vol. IV., pp. 193, 199

‡ Report Bureau of Ethnology, No. 4, p. lix.

reaches the conclusion that "No hard or fast line can be drawn between the art of the Indian and of the mound builder."\*

Similar views upon this general subject are also held by Professor Putnam and Mr. Carr of the Peabody Museum,† and by Dr. Joseph Jones.

Dr. D. G. Brinton, noted authority in this department of research, not only holds the same opinion, but specially designates the ancestors of the Chatta-Muskogee tribes as probably the original mound-building stock or family. This stock embraced the Choctaws, Chickasaws, the Natchez, and other allied tribes of Southern Indians. There is considerable evidence in support of Dr. Brinton's views. Within the historic period these tribes formed a nation of mound builders. The widely spread traditions of the Northern Indians also indicated that this ancient race was driven southward from the Ohio and upper Mississippi valleys.

Many causes led the early settlers and writers to underrate the natural abilities and capacity of the Indian race. The tribes that wasted their numbers and strength in the vain effort to stay the mighty march of the western pioneers became more savage in this very frontier warfare. Revenge and despair, the occasional violation of treaties, the destruction of their towns and crops, often led them to abandon the pursuit of agriculture. Contact with the whites upon the frontier also sowed the seeds of discord and degeneration.

Thus, to the eyes and imagination of our pioneer settlers, the modern Indian appeared chiefly in his savage character—the type of a wild race of hunters and warriors. He could give to the whites only uncertain traditions as to these strangely formed earthworks. He knew little or nothing of their history. He knew nothing of the uses of many of the stone implements and antique images. He shook his head mysteriously, and claimed they belonged to a strange and unknown race.

The French trading explorers had come with their convenient wares of iron, brass and copper, and the rude pottery of the natives soon disappeared from sight and was forgotten. Arrow points and implements of iron supplanted those of flint.

Our Tennessee images and vessels of clay were fortunately preserved in the stone graves of our ancient cemeteries; the rest were generally lost and destroyed. Thus, many writers were led to draw a broad distinction between the race of mound builders and the modern Indians, and to magnify the works and intelligence of the former in contrast with the uncivil-

\* Report Bureau of Ethnology, No. 2, p. 165.

† See summary of authorities cited by Lucian Carr. *Mounds of Mississippi Valley*. *Memoirs of Ky. Geological Survey*, Vol. 2, 1883.

ized condition of the latter. Modern investigation has broken down these theories, and greatly lessened this contrast. The deeper the subject is probed, the more closely they are found to be related, until we are forced to the conclusion that there is no other theory so simple and rational as that which assigns the mound builders a place in history as the ancestors of the advanced tribes of modern Southern Indians.

The systems of earthworks and tumuli in Tennessee and the States adjacent must be regarded as clearly presenting most of the characteristic features of the mound builder's structures. They offer a fair test of the question at issue. No higher grades or forms of pottery, or more elaborately wrought implements, or articles showing more commercial development have been found elsewhere in the Mississippi valley.\*

Prof. Putnam with his archæological spade has recently penetrated the inmost recesses of elaborate mounds and ancient cemeteries in Ohio, and Wm. McAdams and A. J. Conant have explored hundreds of graves in Illinois and Missouri without discovering anything superior to the arts of the primitive tribes who built the earthworks in Tennessee.

There are features common to all the works of the mound-building tribes. The differences are not sufficiently radical to make it necessary to attribute them to different races. There are also many traces of kinship connecting these tribes with the ancient pyramid builders of Mexico and the Pueblo builders of the far West.

Doubtless some offshoot of the ancient Mongol race or races, who built up the first semblance of civilization upon the banks of the Gila and Colorado, then found their way to the valley of Mexico—doubtless some offshoot finally pushed across the wide plains to the eastward and colonized the Mississippi valley. Waves of immigration may have followed. The date was too remote for chronology. Centuries of time, migrations, changes, wars, extinctions, absorption must have succeeded.

The nomadic tribes of the plains, the more sedentary or village Indians of the South, their industrious kindred of the Ohio valley, were probably each the progeny of this ancient race, under different conditions or stages of development.

The special influences that caused certain branches of the family stock to adopt the semi-agricultural state, and others the hunter state, may readily be imagined; nor is it difficult to account for their military or defensive works, simple or elaborate, wherever they exist.

The particular development, religious or social rites, the semblance of

\* Characteristic tumuli exist in all sections of Tennessee, sometimes rising to the height of 60 or 70 feet, but I have specially considered only those that have come under my observation.

culture, that led to the construction of the so-called effigy or figure mounds of Wisconsin and Ohio, and the groups of exact forms, circles, squares, the systems of terraced pyramids of the Ohio valley and of the South, offer some minor problems more difficult of solution, yet these enigmas are being unraveled. The effigy work seems a natural outgrowth of the religious rites and superstitions of the Indian race, and Mr. Lewis H. Morgan in an elaborate treatise has offered a most reasonable explanation of the peculiar features of the Ohio structures.

Consider the influence of a century of peace upon tribes of Indians like the Natchez, the Shawnees or the Iroquois. Peace and agriculture in a fertile territory would naturally have enabled them to produce all the spurs of development represented by these remains. Consider the effect of a succeeding century of wars, invasions, pestilence, famine, and we have the key to the apparent decadence of the North American Indians. These vicissitudes have marked the pathway of the most civilized nations.

Conquest and progress followed by degeneration and decay is the lesson of history. There is no mystery in the disappearance of some of the mound-building aborigines. Scores of tribes have become extinct during the last three centuries. An Indian trail is now almost unknown even on the plains of the far West.

The Mandans of the Northwest, a modern tribe, lived in dwellings very similar in character to those of our stone-grave race. Catlin describes one of their villages, in the bend of a river, protected by a solid stockade and ditch. It resembled in other respects one of our ancient fortified villages in Tennessee.

They burned in kilns an excellent variety of pottery. They played the game of "Chungke" with discoidal stones like the Southern Indians a century and more ago. They were once a strong tribe, yet under the unrelenting persecutions of the Sioux tribes they have become nearly extinct.\* Here doubtless is an epitome of the life and fate of some of the mound-building tribes. There has been a great deal of sentimental rubbish written on this subject about "vanished races of high culture akin to the Aztecs and the Incas." It is better to face the simple truth even at the expense of sentiment.

I have personally assisted in exploring many mounds and stone graves. I have also carefully examined a large number of collections and Museums of American Archaeology. The result is disappointing to any one searching for evidences of ancient civilization among the remains of the Missis-

\*"Mound Builders." Force, p. 76.

sippi valley. He will find only the remains of ancient barbarism. There has been no exception.

I have also had the pleasure of witnessing excavations, made under official authority, in the ruins of the ancient cities of Southern Italy—indeed have been permitted to assist in them. I have seen a number of articles lifted into daylight from their original bed in the ashes and cinders of Pompeii—an Etruscan vase, a kitchen ladle of copper inlaid with silver, a lock and key and other humbler antiques, but all showing the high state of civilization that existed in ancient Italy. I could not help thinking of the contrast between the antiquities of Europe and America, a contrast scarcely less striking, though the explorer prosecutes his labors among the most noted remains of Central America or Mexico.

History and tradition tell us that the ancient tribe of Natchez Indians probably occupied the fertile valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers at the dawn of European discovery. The Creek confederacy was subsequently founded upon the ruins of the Natchez. Later the Shawnees from the far Sewanee, or Shawnee River of Florida and from the Savannah in Georgia became the conquerors of the land now called Tennessee. An ancient Shawnee village was built upon the present site of Nashville. They were a fine type of the native American—the tribe later of Logan and Tecumseh.

For a century or more they held sway. Their domain extended from the Ohio to the Tennessee River, but these fair possessions were the constant envy of their neighbors. They were never at peace. No wonder their ancient homes upon the Cumberland were fortified like the walled towns of feudal Europe! Each settlement probably had its castle of security. The Iroquois on the north pressed them, through years of unrelenting hate. The Chickasaws and Choctaws preyed upon them from the south; the Cherokees from the southeast.

The Shawnees were finally overwhelmed and scattered. They fled beyond the Ohio. Their towns and villages were desolated and left in ashes.

They occasionally stole back to their ruined homes in the land of their fathers. The Iroquois, their ancient enemies, sometimes hunted the Cherokees even to the banks of the Tennessee, yet no claimant dared to build a permanent home in all this fair territory, and for sixty years or more prior to its first settlement by the whites Tennessee was an uninhabited wilderness. The trees grew still larger upon its mounds and earthworks, and its maize fields again became a forest. President Harrison, an eminent antiquarian in his day, tells us in a paper relating to the

history of the Indians that even "the beautiful Ohio rolled its amber tide until it paid tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude for nearly a century."

What an Eldorado was buried in this deep wilderness! An Eldorado not of gold, but of nature's better riches! No wonder that its pioneer discoverers called it the Garden of Eden, and the Land of Promise beyond the Mountains! No wonder that the Cherokees from the mountains on the east looked down along the bright silver ribbon of the Tennessee upon the immigrants' floating barge, and tried to stay its coming, or lay in ambush along the narrow "Wilderness Trail"!

Here we take leave of "Ancient Tennessee." We have come out of prehistoric shadows into the light of history. What a mighty change has been wrought by a century of civilization!

*G. P. Thurston.*

## BETWEEN ALBANY AND BUFFALO

### EARLY METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION AND TRAVEL

#### PART II

We can easily imagine that in the darkness or rain, with a crowd of passengers and perhaps some drunken boatmen, the joys of traveling on the Erie Canal might be not inaptly illustrated by the experience of Horace on his journey to Brundisium. A traveler fifty years ago on a packet-boat between Rome and Syracuse, says that the mosquitoes have, at least, reaped some benefit from cutting the canal; and that if they taxed all other boats on the canal as they did his, a canal share with them, must be considerably above par and highly profitable. But at other times the number of passengers was moderate—only enough for pleasant intercourse—the weather fine, and the inconveniences few and far more than counterbalanced by the pleasures of travel. At times, either by accident, or by previous arrangement, musicians were found on board, and as almost every one could dance in those days, the passengers, young and old, enjoyed the pleasure of an old-fashioned quadrille. One of the annoyances of travel by night, was the difficulty, or the carelessness of the steersmen, in entering the locks. The locks were 90 by 15, and the boats 80 by 14; and as the packet bumped, or groaned and grated as she entered the lock, the passengers were shaken out of sleep; or if only partly aroused, the hissing and roaring of the water completed the process. Miss Martineau was evidently not in good humor when she wrote her *Retrospect of Western Travel*; or perhaps the romance of her novel experiences was dimmed a little by the interval of a year. In her *Society in America* (1837) she speaks considerably and pleasantly even of certain trying experiences in travel. But in 1838, she recalls more of the disagreeable features of her tour. The company of travelers on the packet-boat was far from agreeable, the most offensive feature of it being a company of sixteen Presbyterian clergymen, on their way to Utica, who shocked Miss Martineau's irreligious sense by their persistent and untimely scripture-reading and prayers. The berths in the ladies' cabin were offensive to her fastidious tastes, and she had meditated sitting on deck all night, when a shower came on and drove her below. To add to all her misfortunes they passed the fine scenery of Little Falls in the night. Her spirits revived, however,

the next morning, when they reached Utica, and found themselves at Baggs' Hotel, where they "knew how to value cold water, spacious rooms and retirement, after the annoyances of the boat." She is magnanimous enough to admit, on another occasion, to the credit of our hotels, that she never in any place, found difficulty in obtaining as large a supply of *water*, as she wished, by simply asking for it, in good time. One of the pleasures, to which travelers on the canal looked forward, was the scenery at Little Falls; and the slow passage of the boats through the locks gave ample time to enjoy it. It was compared by some to the *Trosachs*, with its "beetling crags, rocks hurled in ruin, the shaggy wood, and little coves, where the still water hardly stirred a leaf." Even Mrs. Trollope admits that the Little Falls have a beauty as singular as it is striking. "I never saw," she says, "so sweetly wild a spot."

Mrs. Trollope's observations upon America were cynical; and perhaps her reflections upon our methods of travel, were no more just than those on our society and manners. Her experience was, that with a delightful party of one's own choosing, fine weather, and a strong breeze to drive away the mosquitoes, traveling by canal might be very agreeable; but no motive of convenience could be powerful enough to induce her again to imprison herself in a canal-boat under ordinary circumstances. The accommodations, as seen through Mrs. Trollope's green spectacles, were inadequate—everybody was selfish and rushed for the best place. The library of a dozen books, the back-gammon board, the mean little berths, and the shady side of the cabin, were all pre-empted, without regard to a woman's, and especially an English woman's, previous claim. Mrs. Trollope reached Utica at noon on the day after leaving Albany "pretty well fagged by the sun by day and a crowded cabin by night;" and here lemonade, feather fans and *eau de cologne* kept her from surrendering at discretion to a thermometer in which the mercury stood at ninety. It is refreshing to learn that her digression to Trenton Falls was made in "a very pleasant airy carriage," and that the drive of fourteen miles was delightful. Let us here, by anticipation, confute Mrs. Trollope out of her own mouth as to some of the beauties of travel in America. "Who is it (writes Mrs. Trollope) that says America is not picturesque? I forget; but surely he never traveled from Utica to Albany. I really cannot conceive that any country can furnish a drive of ninety-six miles more beautiful, or more varied in its beauty." A traveler in 1835 calls it "the lovely valley of the Mohawk," and says that the earth hardly contains a valley more deserving of the epithet; and Fanny Kemble says: "The valley of the Mohawk, through which we crept the whole sunshiny day, is beautiful from beginning to end."

Some light is thrown upon early travel on the canal from the way-bills of the packet-boat *William C. Bouck*, which ran between Utica and Rochester in the season of 1823, with Captain William Bristol as master. The first bill is dated April 23d, and the season closed November 24th. The bills are kept with remarkable neatness and fullness of detail. The passenger's name; the number in the party; the place at which he came on board, and the place of his destination, together with the price paid, are in each case entered. As in most cases only surnames are given, it is not easy to recognize with certainty any of the passengers. The first name on way-bill No. 3, for the boat leaving Utica, May 1, 1823, is that of Wm. C. Bouck, in whose honor the packet had been named.

The Hon. Wm. C. Bouck was then one of the canal commissioners, having been appointed by the two branches of the legislature at the session of 1821. He was not disposed, however, to accept any "dead-head" courtesy, but paid \$19.50 for a party of three from Utica to Rochester. On the same bill a Mr. Lyman paid \$5 from Utica to Rochester and "found himself." Mr. Cummins, with a party of four from Weedsport to Rochester, paid \$11.50; and fifty cents was "deducted for a servant-girl." We find in one bill that General Kirkland paid \$16 for a party of four from Rochester to Manlius. On one bill we find a "Mr. Holly and Lady"—possibly the Hon. Myron Holly, so prominent in the early part of this century in engineering and canal interests. On one bill it appears that a Mr. Mosely traveled from Whitesborough to Manlius. There were two in the party, and opposite his name there appears the significant entry, "paid nothing." Whether he belonged to the noble army of "deadheads," or whether he shrewdly eluded the vigilance of Captain Bristol, we can only conjecture.

The *William C. Bouck* made seventy-four trips during the season between Utica and Rochester. The amount of travel was surprisingly great. On her third trip she carried 57 passengers, and the proceeds of the trip were \$209.17. The first trip yielded \$168.50; the second, \$187.90; and the receipts for the entire season were \$6,762.50. The fare in the early part of the season was charged at the rate of four cents per mile; but later, it seems to have been reduced to three cents. At the higher rate the fare from Utica to Rochester was \$6.36; at the lower rate, \$4.80. And yet it is not easy always to decide on what basis the charge was made. There were evidently "half-fares"; for we find them charged as such in one or two cases. But there is a singular variety of fares between Rochester and Utica. Beside the apparently regular charges of \$6.36 and \$4.80, we find passengers charged \$4.75, \$5, \$5.25, \$5.50, \$6. The

prevailing charge from Utica to Syracuse was \$2.44; but beside this, we find \$1.80, \$1.83, \$1.89, \$2.12. From Syracuse to Rochester we find charges as follows: \$3, \$3.92, \$3.94, \$3.96, \$4. From Rome to Rochester: \$4, \$4.35, \$5.76, \$5.87. It is possible that this variety of charges might be reconciled by the fact that in some cases passengers "found" themselves, and did not incur the expense of a sleeping berth. In one place we find that a party of three from Utica to Rochester paid but \$10, and again a party of two paid \$9.60—evidently a considerable deduction from the regular fare. In 1822 the boats were allowed to make five miles an hour; but the commissioners reporting in that year recommend that the legal rate of speed be reduced to four miles, so as not to damage the embankments. In 1825 there were four packet-boats running between Utica and Rochester.

In 1795 Jason Parker began running a stage from Whitestown to Canajoharie. It appears that for some years before he had carried the great western mail from Albany; and on one occasion, when he reported six letters for the inhabitants of Fort Schuyler, the natives were incredulous, until John Post, the Dutch postmaster, a man of unimpeachable veracity, had confirmed the statement. Mr. Parker's stage was to leave Whitestown Mondays and Thursdays at 2 P.M., and proceed to Fort Schuyler. The next morning, at 4 A.M., it was to start for Canajoharie, reach there in the evening, exchange passengers with the Albany and Cooperstown stages, and return to Fort Schuyler the next day. The fare from Whitestown to Canajoharie was \$2; way passengers four cents per mile, with fifteen pounds of baggage gratis. It is impossible to introduce into a narrative of stage travel in the valley of the Mohawk quite such a glow of enthusiasm as marks De Quincey's account of the English mail coach of the early part of this century. His account of "going down with victory"—the story of how the mail coach carried through England the news of England's great victories, from Trafalgar to Waterloo, is enough to make the most prosaic heart swell with emotion. "Five years of life," says De Quincey, "it was worth paying down for the privilege of an outside seat on a mail coach when carrying down the first tidings of such an event." Every part of every carriage was carefully cleaned and examined; every horse carefully groomed; horses, men and coaches decked in laurels, oak leaves, and ribbons; and the guards in royal livery. The great line of stages is ready, each waiting for its mail, and as the lid is locked down, the driver gathers up his reins, and the horses plunge into their collars. "Horses!" he says: "can these be horses, that bound off with the action and gesture of leopards? what stir; what sea-like ferment; what a thun-

dering of wheels; what a trampling of hoofs; what a sounding of trumpets; what farewell cheers";—and amid a tumult of voices, connecting the name of each particular stage—as, "Liverpool forever"!—with the name of the particular victory—as, "Salamanca, forever"! the royal mail rushed out of sight on its journey of three hundred or six hundred miles, and soon after leaving the city, settled down to its regular pace of ten miles an hour. Neither the roads nor the stage lines through the valley of the Mohawk, in the early part of this century, will admit of any such glowing account as this. But with the improvement of the roads and the increase of travel, the conveniences and speed of travel improved. In 1820 Schoolcraft traveled by stage from Albany to Utica in seventeen hours. In the winter of 1822–3 Mr. Theodore Faxton, merely to show what could be done in the line of rapid travel, made careful arrangements for relays of horses, and drove a party of six gentlemen from Utica to Albany and back in 18 hours. In 1833 we have an incidental notice of a stage running from Utica to Manchester (9 miles) in an hour and 10 minutes.

In 1819 Fanny Wright traveled from Albany westward; and her experience, though given with unfailing good nature, shows that the condition of the roads was far from ideal. There was no such thing as "traveling post," as in the old world. If the tourist were fastidious, and easily annoyed by trifles, he could hire or buy his own "dearborn," or light wagon, and travel as he pleased. Harriet Martineau once engaged an "exclusive extra" from Utica to Buffalo for \$80, and Fanny Kemble traveled in the same way. But if the traveler wished to see people, as well as things, and to hear intelligent conversation; if not disposed to take offence at little things; if willing to exchange civilities with strangers, and make an acquaintance, if only for an hour; if he could submit to jolting, and to the whim of the driver, in going too rapidly over a rough road and too slowly over a smooth one; then let him by all means take a corner in the post-coach. As he passed through the country, he would be joined at different points by travelers differing in appearance and profession—country gentlemen, lawyers, members of Congress, naval officers, farmers, mechanics. The atmosphere was democratic. The judge, farmer and mechanic conversed upon equal terms; and the prevailing testimony is, that the party in a stage-coach was generally characterized by two excellent qualities, good humor and intelligence. Miss Wright found the roads along the Mohawk shockingly bad in many places. A storm had preceded them, and the road was full of holes, "first the right wheel of our vehicle and anon the left, making a sudden plump, did all but spill us out on the high-

way." They reached Utica "very tolerably fagged and bruised as I could not wish an enemy."

At Utica, foreigners, or those who traveled for pleasure, generally interrupted the journey long enough to make a visit to Trenton Falls. After leaving Utica, Miss Wright found that the country began to assume a rough appearance, stumps and girdled trees encumbering the inclosures, and log-houses scattered here and there. The road between Utica and Auburn was apparently not so well cleared and settled as either east of Utica or west of Auburn. In this case, the travelers reached Canandaigua on the fifth day after leaving Albany.

English travelers were always considerably amused at the names of places in America. Mrs. Trollope says: "My chief amusement, I think, was derived from names." On arriving at Rome, the first name she saw over a store was *Remus*. Captain Marryatt detests "these old names vamped up. Why do not the Americans take the Indian names? They need not be so very scrupulous about it; they have robbed the Indian of everything else." "The Americans," he says, "have ransacked Scripture and ancient and modern history to supply themselves with names, and yet there appears to be a strange lack of taste in their selection. On the road to Lake Ontario you pass such names as Manlius, Sempronius, Titus, Cato; and then you come to *Butternuts*."

The manner of distributing the mail in the thinly-settled districts was amusing as well as annoying. There was no attempt to sort the mail. In moving through the new country, papers were flung out from time to time, though "no sight or sound bespoke the presence of a human being." Occasionally the stage stopped at some "corners" or small settlement, the mail-bag was thrown out, its contents dumped upon the floor, and the driver, with the postmaster, and perhaps his wife and children, proceeded to pick out whatever letters or papers might be addressed to the surrounding district. When this was done, the remaining mail matter was once more swept into the leathern bag and thrown into the stage. If no postmaster could be found, as was sometimes the case, the mail was carried on.

The corduroy road, of which so much is heard, was found only, or mainly, in the western part of the state. Miss Martineau refers to these roads, because, she says, they seem to have made a deep impression upon the imaginations of the English, who apparently think that American roads are all corduroy. After describing the different varieties of roads in America, good, bad, and indifferent, she says: "Lastly, there is the corduroy road, happily of rare occurrence, where, if the driver is merciful to his passengers, he drives so as to give them the feeling of being on the way

to a funeral, their involuntary *sobs*, at each jolt, contributing to the resemblance; and if he is in a hurry, he shakes them like pills in a box." The corduroy road was built of split trees and rails laid across the road, as evil-minded persons affirmed, without any regard to level or disproportion of size, and a most sovereign contempt for anything like repairs. "Such a wretched apology for a highway," said a traveler in 1833, "ought to have immortalized its inventor's name, in place of being called after the coarse cloth which it resembles in grain. The man, at least, deserved a patent for having discovered a most excruciating mode of dislocating bones, and an easy method of breaking the axle-trees of carriages."

Let us take a journey through the valley of the Mohawk and westward with a party leaving Albany on August 30, 1828. We shall take the stage to Schenectady, so as to avoid the delay of passing through the locks. The stage is a huge coach, of elliptical shape, hung low, on strong leathern belts, and drawn by four horses. It is wider and longer than the English stage-coach. It will carry nine inside passengers, and there is room for one outside with the driver. After taking us in at our hotel, the stage is driven about the town to pick up the other passengers with their baggage. The road to Schenectady, with which we are, by this time, familiar, is over a sandy plain—the "pine barrens"—with rows of lombard poplars on either side. The day is hot. The driver who, like most stage drivers of that date, is merciful to his beast, stops twice to water his horses, and at the doors of the inns on the way some persons are in waiting with glasses of water to refresh the hot and thirsty travelers. The conversation is general, and even the chancellor, who is one of the passengers, does not refrain from engaging in it. At 12 M. we reached Schenectady, where the stage stops for dinner. At all hotels the custom is to have breakfast, dinner, and tea at fixed hours, and the landlords are reluctant to prepare any special meals. The ringing of a bell summons us to the table, which is bountifully laden. The charge for dinner is half a dollar. At 2 P.M. we take the packet on the canal close to the hotel door. The boat is not large—fifty feet long by eight in width. Whatever may be the dimensions of the boat, however, the captain is, in his own opinion, no small affair. He puffs and swells about, until he looks nearly as large as his boat. He seats himself in the cabin, calls for his writing-desk, orders a bell rung to call the passengers to pay up, collects the fare from the half-dozen who have taken passage with him, and then locking his desk with a key large enough for a street door, goes on deck and stalks majestically up and down as if commander of a man-of-war. "After all," we say to ourselves, "there is nothing like being a captain." The passengers, though differing in social

rank, enter into conversation with each other freely. The canal works are pointed out to strangers by a canal agent, who happens to be one of the party; but the absorbing topic is the Presidential election, which is to come off in a few months, and Adams and Jackson each find about an even number of champions. The numerous bridges are a source of great annoyance—so low that in passing under them we have to leave the higher deck, where it is desirable to sit for the sake of the view. The sleeping accommodations for ladies are tolerably good; those for gentlemen cannot be commended; and soon after leaving Schenectady we resolve that on reaching Utica we will again take the stage. The packet moves along, drawn by three horses, at the rate of four miles an hour, and we reach Utica on the afternoon of the 31st, twenty-six hours after leaving Schenectady. Having had three meals on the packet, our supper at the canal coffee-house, in a large and rather handsome room, where we are joined by thirty or forty others, is very refreshing. There are at this time five daily four-horse coaches leaving Utica for Buffalo, with a fare of \$6.50. We are to start at four o'clock in the morning, and therefore retire in good season. Through the carelessness of a servant we are barely ready in season, and hurry down to find the coach already half full, half an hour before sunrise. The road is poor, but the driver jogs along at the rate of seven miles an hour. The rapid driving of the clumsy vehicle down the hills and over the bridges at first causes some alarm; but we find comfort in the reflection of another traveler, who has written that the stage drivers in America are men who command admiration, equally by their perfection in their art, their fertility of resource, and their patience with passengers. "Although nobody, I believe," says Fanny Kemble, "ever traveled one hundred miles by land in this country without being overturned, the drivers deserve infinite credit for the rare occurrence of accidents. How they can carry a coach at all, over some of their roads, is miraculous; and high praise is due to them, both for their care and skill, that anybody in any part of this country ever arrives at the end of a land journey at all."

At Vernon, seventeen miles from Utica, we stop for breakfast. The tavern here enjoys an excellent reputation, and both the meals and the service are commended by some of our most fastidious travelers. Before leaving Vernon we take in an additional passenger, a woman, who fills the last vacant inch of the vehicle. We are appalled at seeing a young man follow her with an enormous wooden best-bonnet box, which, in violation of right and reason, he insists on forcing into our laps or crowding under the seat. Our route lies through a country well cleared, diversified with hill and dale, and with many thriving villages. At one place some Indian

children run for a long distance after the stage in the hope of securing a few pennies. The driver stops to water his horses every four or five miles, and we go through the operation of leaving the mail at various points. We expect to dine at Onondaga; but a party of militia, on duty there, has demolished the regular dinner, and rather than wait for another to be prepared, we take a luncheon of bread and cheese, and push on to Auburn. This place we reach about sunset, and are served as soon as we arrive with a plentiful supper. While we tarry at Auburn for awhile to inspect the state prison, we may comment upon the fact that at the hotel the hostess sits at the table with us, and the young woman who waits at the table sits at the foot when not busy in serving the guests. The word *servant*, we are told, is rarely used in America. Many English travelers in America, in the early part of this century, were offended at what they regarded as the free and easy manners on the part of landlord and attendants. But the landlord, we must remember, was often a man with a real or fictitious title to his name; always a man of local importance, and in those simple, democratic days, when the host mingled on familiar terms with judges and legislators, why should he be obsequious to English travelers. The young woman who served the guests was often the daughter of the landlord, and a service which would be refused to a rude demand, was cheerfully rendered at a civil request. "For my own part," says Fanny Kemble, "I have thus far met with nothing but civility and attention of every description." In 1815 President Dwight entered into a defence of America against English critics, and among other things, appears as the champion of the American tavern, proving from the words of English travelers that they had received only civility and politeness at the hands of all classes in America. And now we are prepared to resume, and soon to finish our journey. Leaving Auburn, we cross the great wooden bridge, a mile or more in length, at the foot of Cayuga Lake and come to Geneva, the most delightful place for a residence which we have seen since leaving the Mohawk. The hotel in Geneva is large and well kept, but if you are as fastidious as Fanny Kemble, it is to be hoped that you have followed her example and brought your own silver forks with you, for if we believe her statement, the wretched two-pronged iron implements furnished by our host are anything but clean or convenient. What is true of most other hotels, is true here—substantials and necessities are freely furnished, but luxuries scantily. It is not easy to have boots blacked, or to get hot water in the morning. The traveler excites no surprise by shaving in public in the bar-room. We find that twenty stages leave the door of our hotel in Geneva each day throughout the whole year. And so we

journey on stopping at various points of interest, received everywhere with hospitality which, if homely, is at least hearty and genuine, until on the 10th of September, when we are approaching Buffalo. If we need any exercise to whet the appetite for supper, we shall find enough of it in the corduroy road. We are almost shaken to pieces. Such jolts would break the springs of any English carriage, but the strong leathern belts of the American coach never give way. The best progress we can make is three miles an hour. We reach the spacious Eagle Hotel in Buffalo long after supper is over, but a new one is soon provided, and the fatigues of the journey are soon forgotten.

And now, having carried you back half a century or more and taken you with me on this personally conducted tour from Albany to Buffalo, I leave you to sleep, like Rip Van Winkle, on the shores of Lake Erie, merely cautioning you that when you awake and wish to return to Albany you need not drag along for ten days in the packet-boat, or bump over corduroy roads and wallow in sloughs for five or six days in a stage-coach, but that the limited leaves there at 8.50 A.M. and will land you in Albany at four o'clock P.M.

A. S. Hopkins

## PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Reminiscences of America's historical personages seem to possess an inexhaustible fascination for our reading public. This fact must be my excuse for adding to the vast riches already accumulated a few of my own personal recollections of one of the greatest of our deceased Presidents.

Strolling in Washington, one morning before breakfast, in the pleasant grounds back of the "White House," I was impressed by the simplicity, yet dignified proportions of the Executive Mansion. This is not, I believe, the generally accepted opinion respecting that building, and from time to time the question of a new edifice is mooted—some colossal and decorated structure, more in keeping with the conventional idea of the grandeur of the official occupant. I trust that, in my day, at least, no rash act of Congress, or scheme of an ambitious architect, will combine to supplant the existing building which, if not as convenient as it should be in its interior arrangements, presents, externally, a sufficiently imposing appearance to designate it as the residence of the Chief Magistrate of our nation, hallowed, too, as it is by the associations clustering about a line of illustrious men, covering nearly a century.

I was indulging in these reflections as I leaned, in the stillness of the early morning, over the railing that divides the private grounds from the outside promenade, when from the door of the adjacent conservatory stepped a tall, ungainly-looking man, in a high hat and an ill-fitting suit of black. Evidently surprised to see a stranger at such an hour inspecting the premises, he relinquished his intention of entering the mansion, and advanced toward me with an expression of curiosity, if not of suspicion. When within speaking distance, he stopped and regarded me with great earnestness from beneath a pair of shaggy eye-brows, and then I suddenly recognized the President, Abraham Lincoln. At the same moment I remembered that the political excitement attending his inauguration, a few weeks before, had not entirely subsided, and that precautions were still being taken to prevent the possibility of annoyance, if not of danger to, his person, on the part of evil-disposed individuals known to be still lurking in the Capital. I immediately raised my hat and was on the point of resuming my walk, when he lifted his own and with an encouraging smile seemed disposed to enter into conversation. I mentioned my name in an apologetic manner, and he, approaching nearer, asked what state I was

from. Apparently satisfied from my response that I was a safe person to converse with, he explained, with the homely familiarity of an old acquaintance, why he himself was out at that early hour. It was the first time, he said, that he had been able to look about the grounds or to enter the conservatory since he had taken possession of the White House. He then pointed to the building, and spoke of certain architectural changes in it "since Madison's day." When I mentioned that it was my first acquaintance with the building, he called my attention to a point of view toward the Potomac which he preferred to any other, and was about enlarging upon the subject by moving forward where the view was more extended, when a third person was seen approaching, moved probably by curiosity to look at the President. Upon this, Lincoln bade me an abrupt "good-morning," and turned with a shambling gait into the mansion.

I saw little of President Lincoln during that brief visit of mine to Washington, but two years later I had occasion to confer with him frequently on a matter of business. Once, when keeping an appointment, and when my patience was nearly exhausted by waiting to be summoned to the President's room, the door of the adjoining apartment was opened by him with considerable irritability of manner, and, in a loose dressing gown and carpet slippers, he exclaimed:

"I thought you were to be here at nine o'clock. It is now ten." I stated that I had been there for more than an hour, but that the Secretary of the Interior, who also was to have been present, had not yet appeared, and that, naturally, I had supposed they were in consultation together before calling me in. He instantly apologized, and transferred his irritability to the absent Secretary.

Lincoln's extraordinary natural sagacity often supplied the place of experience, and a brusqueness of speech sometimes followed a suggestion from another in opposition to his own views, which, after controverting, he would adopt. I suggested on a certain occasion, in regard to the business I had in hand, that all the preliminaries having been satisfactorily arranged, the easiest way to settle the matter would be for him to affix his signature to the document before him.

"O, I know that," he replied, "and so it would be 'very easy' for me to open that window and shout down Pennsylvania Avenue, only I don't mean to do it—just now."

He was irritated, and justly irritated, by certain difficulties which had been thrown in his way toward the accomplishment of a great purpose which he had determined to carry out—by opponents to the scheme.\*

\* See *Magazine of American History*, October, 1886.

I responded, that if His Excellency required more time to reconsider the matter, I would, however inconvenient to myself, remain a few days longer in Washington.

"No," said Mr. Lincoln, "you've had trouble enough about it, and so have I," and he read over the document to himself with close attention. "I guess it's all right," he remarked, when he had done so, and, sending for the Secretary of the Interior, affixed his signature.

I never heard Lincoln indulge in any of his habitual anecdotes, but he was full of humor and keenly appreciated it on the part of others. I once made a jocose remark which tickled his fancy. Leaning back in his chair, he looked up at the ceiling with open mouth and a grin of enjoyment; and the next moment resuming his usual solemnity of manner he went on with the examination of the papers before him. His personal appearance during that moment of "silent laughter" was not attractive, with his long legs, and slippers extended forward, and his hairy head hanging over the back of the chair, as if he had been thrown there in a dislocated condition by some violent process. But even under his personal disadvantages, Lincoln's homely face and uncouth figure failed to diminish a profound respect on the part of all who stood in his presence. It has occasionally happened to me to be alone with some "grand personage," from a prince to a prime minister, each of whom was distinguished by dignity of manner and polished address, but I never felt the inner power of a man so potentially, as was manifested by Abraham Lincoln. Behind that shaggy physiognomy, the stern integrity of the man mingled with a humane and penetrating determination of will that was very remarkable.

The last time I stood near Abraham Lincoln was more impressive than on any previous occasion, for he was mute, motionless and invisible—lying dead in his coffin beneath a sable pall in a lower room of the City Hall in New York. All day the citizens had been streaming into that room and filing around the catafalque, with mingled curiosity and sorrow, to pay their last respects to the great martyr of freedom before the remains continued their mournful and imposing progress toward their final resting-place. The hour for closing the room for the night had arrived and all but the guards had departed; but a word from me to the door-keeper induced him to allow me to go in, "for a moment." Shadows had gathered around the black drapery of the pall, and an indescribable awe took possession of my soul as I remembered the last time we were together in the White House, as he had leaned back smiling at something I had said. Suddenly, I heard the bolt of the outer door turn in the lock, and footsteps retreating. The guard, supposing I had left the room, had shut off my exit. I was

locked in with the body of Lincoln. It was not for long, for another door-keeper soon relieved the one who had left, and in response to my knocking released me. I shall not forget the expression of surprise and horror on his face as he opened the door at what his fancy may have conjured up as the summons of the dead man himself for liberation from his charnel house!

The next morning Admiral Farragut, who was a neighbor of mine at Hastings-on-the-Hudson, leaned over my garden gate to remark that he thought Lincoln's "Catapult" the finest thing of the kind he had ever seen. "I call it *catapult*," he said, "because it sounds to me more natural, in the way of my profession, than the foreign word."

That afternoon a large crowd assembled near the railroad depot of our village—beneath and around a memorial arch, with a suitable inscription, that had been erected—to see the coffin of the martyred President pass by. As the funeral train approached the village, wreathed in crape, and the bier nearly concealed with floral offerings, the engine "slowed" that the crowd of mourners might uncover before the remains of one whose great heart, just judgment and inflexible honesty of purpose had so pre-eminently defended the Union during its years of peril. How impressive were those few moments of dead silence! It seemed as if the world of action—the toil and the bustle of life—suddenly stood still to listen to the mournful cadence of a little village bell and the more distant echo of the minute gun. Then, silently and swiftly, the long funeral train moved on, bearing Lincoln to his final resting place.

Enough : he heeded not the passing bell,  
The solemn tramp and toll,  
The booming sorrow and the requiem roll—  
Done was the patriot's work he did so well.

True to the land that bore him; true to her  
Whose rivers led his youth  
Into the likeness of their deepening truth,  
He stood serene amid their borders' stir.


So grew he with his country, side by side,  
As state is linked with state;  
Child of her love, and husband of her fate,  
Whose hand, e'en foemen took with conscious pride.

So stood he grandly by her altar fires,  
Holding her greatness up;  
And fed her eagle from the sacred cup  
Brimmed with the saving blood of patriot sires.

And when he fell, 'twas to a golden rest ;  
As, through a storm-tossed sky,  
The unladen tempest cloud sails stately by  
To melt and mingle with the glowing west.

Take him, great history, in thy stalwart arms,  
And let the pond'rous weight  
Upon thy foremost altar lie in state,  
In the dead eloquence that best embalms.

For, through the blindness of his dusty veil  
His wisdom pierceth death :  
Dumb, he yet crieth with a living breath,  
*Forward, my country ; thou shalt never fail !*

  
Charles H. Tuckerman.

## THE FISHERIES TREATY: A CANADIAN VIEW

If we are to believe the party newspapers of the United States and Canada, the fisheries treaty lately signed at Washington by the Plenipotentiaries involves an ignominious surrender of sacred rights on both sides. The political press of the United States discuss the subject from a purely partisan stand-point. In Canada, the liberal journals see only humiliation in every paragraph of the document, while the conservative or government press regard the treaty as a just and fair solution of a difficulty which has interrupted the harmonious relations of the Continent of America for over seventy years. As a matter of fact, there have been concessions of material value on both sides. The Commissioners approached their task with the evident desire of reaching a conclusion, that would put an end to a vexatious controversy, which has more than once threatened to embroil two nations living at peace with one another.

At the outset of their deliberations, extraneous matters, which in former years and at similar conventions formed part of the argument presented, were at once rejected, and the Commissioners dealt only with practical and living issues. For years the American people have contended that they had prior rights to the fisheries belonging to Canada, because their forefathers had helped to wrest them from the French. This plea has long been abandoned by thinking men, and we believe it was not urged before the Commission. But the idea, fallacious as it is, still prevails in certain sections of the American press, and with some minds it has had its weight as an argument.

It is not necessary, at this time, to review the fisheries question from 1818 to the date of the new treaty. Those interested in the subject are familiar with all its details. The Commission of 1887-8 met really to interpret the meaning of the old treaty, and to render its provisions operative, if possible, without causing friction. To our mind their labors have not been unsuccessful. Many interests had to be reconciled. The annoying circumstances connected with the enforcement by Canada of her undoubted rights, in checking the conduct of American fishermen, during the last two years, contributed much to the aggravating character of the situation. Canada's duties were clear, and she enforced them with a degree of strictness which appeared to be necessary, but every American vessel that was seized only served to intensify the feeling of bitterness

which prevailed in the breasts of sympathizers with the maritime workmen of New England. Canadian laws were not strained in the least, but the terms of the treaty in force—the old compact of 1818—were rigorously acted upon and interpreted to the very letter. The passage of the retaliation bill at Washington proved but another source of dissatisfaction, and reasonable men on both sides of the line looked on at the quarrel with ill-concealed apprehension.

The Commission was not called together a day too soon. It was a wise, statesmanlike act of the President to call it into being in the first place. The work accomplished by the Plenipotentiaries fully justifies the expectations formed of them, as men of broad views and statesmanship. The new treaty contains fifteen clauses, but discussion is apt to arise over not more than three or four of them. Practically, the headlands theory, for which England has always contended with spirit, has been abandoned. We may be sure that the British Plenipotentiaries fought hard to maintain the imperial pretension in this respect, for in the past it has always proved the snapper of the whip. From the very beginning of the fisheries dispute, the combined judiciary of Great Britain has held strong views on this feature of the case, averring, as Bourinot points out, "that the three marine miles from the coasts, bays, and creeks of her (British) possessions must be measured from the headlands or entrance of such classes of indents." This opinion has always been rejected by the American people, who hold that the "line of demarcation should not be measured from the headlands or bays, but should follow the shores of those indents as if they were sinuosities of the coast." On this point, the old treaty of 1818 says that the United States agreed to renounce all right "to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America." Altercation upon altercation has followed on the way in which this clause has been interpreted. Now it was to the definition of the three-mile limit, including the headland question, that the Commission, doubtless, bent their best energies. The great point of the deliberation was the settlement of this question. Accordingly, the two first articles of the treaty provide for the appointment of a mixed commission to delimit the British waters, creeks, and harbors of the coasts of Canada and New Foundland, as to which the United States by the convention of October 20, 1818, renounced forever any liberty to take, dry, or cure fish. The delimitation is to be made in the following manner: The three marine miles are to be measured seaward, from low-water mark, and in every bay, creek or harbor, not specially provided for in the fourth article, such three miles are to be measured

from a line drawn across the bay, creek or harbor in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width does not exceed ten marine miles. This definition, of course, applies to all bays, creeks and harbors on the Canadian and New Foundland coasts the mouths of which do not exceed ten miles in width. American fishermen, according to Article IV., are excluded at points more than three marine miles from low-water mark as established by the following lines, namely, at the Baie des Chaleurs the line from the light at Birch Point on Miscou Island to Macquereau Point Light; at the Bay of Miramichi, the line from the light at Point Escuminac to the light on the eastern point of Tabusintac Gully; at Egmont Bay in Prince Edward Island, the line from the light at Cape Egmont to the light at West Point, and off St. Anne's Bay in the Province of Nova Scotia, the line from Cape Smoke to the light at Point Aconi. At Fortune Bay, in New Foundland, the line from Connaigre Head to the light on the southeasterly end of Brunet Island, thence to Fortune Head; at Sir Charles Hamilton Sound, the line from the southeast point of Cape Fogo to White Island, thence to the north end of Peckford Island and from the south end of Peckford Island to the east headland of Ragged Harbor.

At or near the following bays the limits of American exclusion shall be three marine miles seaward, runs the treaty, from the following lines, viz.: At or near Barrington Bay, in Nova Scotia; the line from the light on Stoddard Island to the light on the South Point of Cape Sable, thence to the light at Baccaro Point; at Chedabucto and St. Peter's bays, the line from Cranberry Island light to Green Island light; thence to Point Rouge (or Red Point), at Mira Bay, the line on the east point of Scatari Island to the northeasterly point of Cape Morien, and at Placentia Bay, in New Foundland, the line from Latine Point on the eastern main land shore to the most southerly point of Red Island; thence by the most southerly point of Merasheen Island to the main land. Long Island and Bryer Island, at St. Mary's Bay, in Nova Scotia, shall, for the purpose of delimitation, be taken as the coast of such bay. These lines of delimitation, which absolutely establish the Canadian claim, are extremely favorable to Canada, inasmuch as they serve to greatly enlarge the Dominion's jurisdiction over the fishing grounds, and with the single exception of St. George's Bay in Nova Scotia, making the exclusive property of Canada every bay on the coast of the maritime provinces. While the British contention, so long persisted in, has been practically abandoned by the Commission, the capitulation is nominal only in its value and effect, Canadian interests being fully protected. Of course, there are some in Canada who regard the abandonment of the old system of measurement as a virtual

surrender of a great principle, for the simple purpose of settling a vexatious question. But practical men will not be apt to take a merely sentimental view of the subject. Looking at the question from every side, they will see that in agreeing to conform to the wish of the United States in this matter, the Canadian yield has been slight, while the means of irritation involved in the pretension have been removed for all time. I cannot see that Canada has made any serious sacrifice in meeting the wishes of the American Commissioners. By giving up an idea, she has gained a real benefit.

We need not concern ourselves with the clause which renders free of navigation to American fishing vessels the Strait of Canso. The strait has always been open, but this is the first time that it has had its place in a treaty drawn by the two nations interested.

Perhaps the second important paragraph in the treaty before us is Article X. It concedes to American smacks:

"They need not report, enter or clear when putting into such bays or harbors for shelter or repairing damages, nor when putting into the same outside the limits of established ports of entry for the purpose of purchasing wood or of obtaining water, except that any such vessel remaining more than twenty-four hours, exclusive of Sundays and legal holidays, within any such port or communicating with the shore therein, may be required to report, enter or clear, and no vessel shall be excused thereby from giving due information to boarding officers. They shall not be liable in any such bays or harbors for compulsory pilotage, nor when there for the purpose of shelter, or repairing damages, of purchasing wood or of obtaining water, shall they be liable for harbor dues, tonnage dues, buoy dues, light dues, or other similar dues, but this enumeration shall not permit other charges inconsistent with the enjoyment of the liberties reserved or secured by the convention of Oct. 20, 1818."

To persons of humane tendencies, the terms of this article particularly appeal. In brief, it is a liberal and courteous interpretation of the privilege granted to American vessels by the old convention of seventy years ago. In enforcing the terms of that treaty, Canada, during the past two years, was obliged to use harsh measures. We have always held that the terms of that document were vexatious and cruel, and the Commissioners have only acted in the true spirit of humanity by rescinding the obnoxious exactions. The concessions made by Canada in this respect are honorable to her, and worthy of high praise. Before the Commission met, of course, Canada was bound to act on the provisions set down in the treaty of 1818. For that, however, the United States was to blame. Canada had

no other alternative, nor option in the matter, for that document, with all its harsh exactions, was in force, and behind it stood the power of Great Britain. Canadian statesmen held that in enforcing the terms of the old treaty, strictness and severity would have to be used. "It must be remembered," said the Minister of Justice in his report of the 22d July, 1886, "that with thousands of miles of coasts, indented as the coasts of Canada are by hundreds of harbors and inlets, it is impossible to enforce the fishery laws without a strict enforcement of the customs laws." The two were really inseparable from one another in their practical working. The Minister of Fisheries complained that a relaxation of the rules "would give to the fishing vessels of the United States privileges in Canadian ports, which are not enjoyed by vessels of any other class or of any other nation, such vessels would, for example, be free from the duty of reporting at the customs on entering a Canadian harbor, and no safeguard could be adopted to prevent infraction of the customs laws by any vessel asserting the character of a fishing vessel of the United States."

Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General of Canada, also took strong ground on the question in his report of March 9, 1887, to the Imperial Government, when he said :

"The same argument applies to the enforcement against the American vessels of the Canadian customs law. . . . It would not be possible to cease enforcing it against a particular class of vessels without giving them opportunities for systematically, and with complete impunity, evading the law upon coasts of which the configuration is particularly favorable to the operations of smugglers." And the Commissioner of Customs of Canada, reporting on the "Pearl Nelson" case, is emphatic in his declaration that, "it was very easy for the crew or any of them to have taken valuable contraband goods ashore on their persons in the absence of any customs officer at the landing place." From the above quotations from the reports of public officers, it will be seen that the chief fear to be apprehended from the indiscriminate landing of American fishing vessels lay in the infringement of customs regulations. These reports also bear out the Dominion government's contention, that the customs laws and the fishery laws must be carried out together. The new regulations emphasized in the draft treaty of 1888, though conceding much to the United States, are still strong enough to put down smuggling. No American vessel entering Canadian bays or harbors is excused from rendering an account of itself to the Canadian boarding officer. The American fisherman will not we are sure, needlessly imperil his position, his liberty or his vessel by trespassing on rights exclusively reserved for Canada.

The "touch and trade" privilege, about which so much in the way of criticism has been said in the press of both countries, is dealt with in the next clause of the treaty, Article XI. This article too, is framed on the laws governing common humanity, and Canada's pretension hitherto in regard to it was open to censure. It reads thus :

"United States vessels entering the ports, bays, and harbors of the eastern and northeastern coasts of Canada, or the coasts of New Foundland under stress of weather or other casualty, may unload, reload, trans-ship, or sell, subject to customs laws and regulations, all fish on board, when such unloading, trans-shipping or sale is made necessary as incidental to the repairs, and may replenish outfits, provisions and supplies damaged or lost by disaster, and in case of death or sickness, shall be allowed all needful facilities, including the shipping of crews. Licenses to purchase in established ports of entry of the aforesaid coasts of Canada or of New Foundland for the homeward voyage such provisions and supplies as are ordinarily sold to trading vessels shall be granted to United States fishing vessels in such ports promptly upon application and without charge, and such vessels having obtained licenses in the manner aforesaid, shall also be accorded upon all occasions such facilities for the purchase of casual or needful provisions or supplies as are ordinarily granted to the trading vessels ; but such provisions or supplies shall not be obtained by barter nor purchased for resale or traffic."

The concessions granted to the United States by the above article are not only dictated by the natural impulses of humanity, but by the principles of good policy as well. American vessels, when driven by stress of weather or other casualty, may hereafter enter a Canadian port, discharge, sell or trans-ship cargo, provided always that such discharge, sale or trans-shipment is rendered necessary in order to effect repairs to the craft. The vessel may replenish outfits, provisions and supplies damaged or lost, by disaster, and, in case of death, or sickness, may ship seamen. More than this the American vessel may not do, the ordinary privileges of trading are denied her, and the liberties granted are only given in cases of disaster. In other words, the common rights of humanity in time of distress are yielded, the concession in nowise modifying the rights of Canada as laid down in the treaty of 1818. Mr. Bayard, previous to the late convention at Washington, held that the fishing vessels of the United States should have in the established ports of entry of Her Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, the same commercial privileges as other vessels of the United States, including the purchase of bait and other supplies. This claim has not been recognized by the Commissioners.

Indeed, Mr. Bayard does not seem to have pressed the bait question at all. Vessels in distress, only, may enter Canadian ports with the object of landing and selling cargo, and then only in so far as the landing and selling of cargo is made necessary by circumstances occasioned by the disaster, and incidental to repairs. American fishing vessels, moreover, after obtaining a license, which is supplied free of charge by the Canadian authorities, may purchase in Canadian ports provisions and supplies for the homeward voyage. Cargo, according to the second clause of the article, must not be landed, nor seamen shipped. Neither can bait, ice, seines, twine or fishing supplies be purchased, the paragraph limiting the character of the supplies to those which are merely and ordinarily sold to trading vessels. The regulation further stipulates that American fishing vessels cannot obtain such supplies by barter of fish for provisions, nor purchase supplies for resale or traffic. These directions appear to be explicit enough, and Canada's rights are well protected. Competitors are rigidly excluded from her markets. Shelter in the ports of Canada is freely granted, with, of course, necessary restrictions to prevent imposition.

In turn, the United States agrees that the fishing vessels of Canada and New Foundland shall have on the Atlantic coast of the United States all the privileges reserved and secured by this treaty to the United States fishing vessels in the aforesaid waters of Canada and New Foundland. When it is considered that this privilege is of little value to the Canadian fishermen, the fishing off the American coasts being so much inferior to that of Canada, further discussion on that clause of the treaty will be found unnecessary. Article XIII. insists that United States fishing vessels display conspicuously official numbers on their bows for purposes of identification. Article XIV. provides adequate punishment in the shape of penalties for fishing unlawfully, preparing to fish, and any other violation of the laws of Great Britain, Canada and New Foundland, relating to the right of fishery. The fifteenth article is a distinct bid for reciprocity between the two countries. It provides that whenever Canadian fish and fish oils are made free in the United States, as well as the packages containing the same—a most useful addition—American fish shall be admitted free into Canada, and American fishing vessels shall be permitted to enter Canadian ports and harbors for the following purposes : 1. The purchase of provisions, bait, nets, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits ; 2, the trans-shipment of cargo ; and 3, the shipping of crews ; but while bait may be obtained by barter no supplies can be so acquired—they must be purchased. The licenses to do this will be furnished free of charge by the Canadian government. At any moment the United States may end the

dispute by adopting in the one item of fish and their produce untrammelled free trade. Trans-shipment of the catch is certainly a point of very great moment to the American fisherman, but Canada could not be expected to grant so valuable a privilege to a competitor in business, without receiving a corresponding concession in return. But even this privilege is freely tendered to the United States on reciprocal terms.

The protocol, which is signed by the British Plenipotentiaries, is an important addendum to the treaty. In the nature of a *modus vivendi* the Commissioners make a temporary offer for a period not exceeding two years, and pending the ratification of the treaty by the various legislative bodies interested. The clauses read thus : 1. For a period not exceeding two years from the present date, the privilege of entering the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coasts of Canada and New Foundland shall be granted to the United States fishing vessels by annual licenses at a fee of \$1.50 per ton for the following purposes: the purchase of bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits, trans-shipment of catch, and shipping of crews. 2. If, during the continuance of this arrangement, the United States should remove the duties on fish, fish oil, whale and seal oil (and their coverings, packages, etc.), the said licenses shall be issued free of charge. 3. United States fishing vessels entering the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coast of Canada and of New Foundland, for any of the four purposes mentioned in Article I. of the convention of October 20, 1818, and not remaining therein more than twenty-four hours, shall not be required to enter or clear at custom-house, providing they do not communicate with the shore. 4. Forfeiture to be exacted only for the offenses of fishing or preparing to fish in territorial waters. 5. This arrangement to take effect as soon as the necessary measures can be completed by the colonial authorities.

These terms are conciliatory and liberal. The cost of the annual license described as excessive, of the fishing craft from seventy to one hundred tons, would prove really a small affair, and considering the privileges it would buy, exceedingly moderate. The treaty, as a whole, is framed on just principles. No country has been humiliated, and opposition to its terms comes only from the politicians opposed to their several governments, and from certain elements among the fishermen on both sides of the line. Its adoption would settle a long-standing difficulty and put an end to a vexatious dispute which has lasted for nearly three-quarters of a century.

QUEBEC, CANADA.



## AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE BOOK IN 1828

### WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

*(Continued from page 338.)*

November 18. Continued our journey at 6 having anchored at night, and at 7 o'clock passed Cumberland River on the left, which runs thro' Tennessee, and soon after saw the river of that name, which empties itself by 2 mouths into the Ohio. We saw several flocks of wild turkeys on the shore: one of our party killed a bird from the boat with his rifle. Most of the Americans in this part of the country are excellent shots. . . . Reached a small place (consisting however of a large dog-house only) called Trinity, 6 miles from the mouth of the river, where we were destined to remain until the next morning, in order to take the cargo of the Barges into the steamboat which we leave here. . . .

November 19. Commenced our voyage at 6 this morning and at 7 I had the first view of the noble river of the Mississippi. The fog however was so thick, that the great body of the water was indistinctly visible. . . . You soon discover the difference in the character of the 2 rivers, the Ohio moving slow and placid, whilst the Mississippi sweeps along with a fierce and tempestuous current. . . .

November 18. Under way this morning early, and during the whole day we had no view save the interminable forest, and dull ragged banks on both sides. Subject as this part of the country is to yearly inundations, very few settlements have yet been attempted and these generally on the high bluffs which are above the reach of the water. We passed only one to-day, where I observed something like the appearance of a village. . . .

November 21. Reached the small town of Memphis in Tennessee at 4 this morning. To add to the dreariness of this day's journey we had a cold, constant, and heavy fall of rain, quite in character with the dark and gloomy forests which fringe the bank to the water's side. The water of the Mississippi resembles in color the Avon below Bristol. . . . They say it possesses medicinal qualities being impregnated with salt. I cannot however say I discovered this merit, altho' I drank nothing else during the whole voyage. We anchored this evening in consequence of a thick fog and were again under weigh at eleven.

November 22. Passed White river in the morning, where we remained three hours. Took in a considerable number of Bears' and Deers' skins, killed in the neighboring forests, which abound with these animals. Met one of the Choctaw Indians who could speak English. His nation which are numerous possess large tracts of land in the northern part of Tennessee. They are more civilized than the northern savages and have something like a form of government. Passed the junction of the river Arkansas which flows thro' the whole extent of that vast country, the greater part of which is unknown. The settlements through the whole of the western countries are as yet confined entirely to the Banks of the large rivers. Passed to-day many of the white sandbanks which extend for miles.

For the last week we have lived almost entirely on the wild Turkeys which are excessively cheap in this country. I am quite decided that they are the finest flavored Birds I ever tasted.

Although the weather is still cold I perceive we are fast approaching a southern climate from the appearance of the forests, which are still clothed in all the luxuriance of their foliage, or rather in all the beauty of their autumnal tints, which are so strikingly beautiful in this country.

November 23. Steamed all night, and this morning we were blessed with one of the finest days I ever saw, though still frosty. The forests improve in appearance every day, fringing the Banks of the river and glowing with every tint and shade. While we were taking in wood Eden and myself made an excursion into the forest where were some of the largest cotton and sugar trees I have ever seen: the largest trees I ever beheld in England were nothing to them. There was also an abundance of the Holly Green oak, and other Evergreens whose names I did not know. The larger trees were covered with a creeping vine: the stem of one I measured was as large as my body. I have seen them hang perpendicularly from a branch 60 or 70 feet high, giving a light and graceful appearance to the tree. . . .

November 24. Steamed all the night, and this morning I felt most sensibly the sudden change in the atmosphere. The forests the whole of this day's journey were most beautiful, covered with all their summer foliage. At 6 this evening observed the lighthouse above Natchez, and at 7 landed in that town. The evening was excessively hot and sultry. Eden and myself walked through the principal street. . . . Natchez is a place of some trade, with a population of 5,000—all the steamboats touch here on their way to New Orleans.

November 25. Continued our journey this morning at 10 o'clock. The forests are now everywhere covered with the Spanish moss, which

attaches itself to the trees, but particularly to the Cypress (a deciduous tree and quite unlike those I have ever seen) which grow here to an enormous size. This singular creeper, with its light and delicate fibers, is a sure indication of swamp, and consequently of ague and fever. In the melancholly cypress swamps which extend for miles, you see it hanging from all parts of the trees in dark and sombre festoons, adding a funereal aspect to the dark and dreary view : quite in character however with the deadly malignity of the climate. In the summer no living creature approaches them, save the crocodile : and no sound is heard in these extensive plains but the incessant buzz of mosquitoes. The heat yesterday and to day has been quite oppressive ; in 24 hours we experienced a change of 40 degrees by my thermometer. I feel quite unwell in consequence. We had a battle royal this morning between 2 ladies of our party. They proceeded from words to abuse, and then to downright fighting. The gentlemen interfered, though the contest was carried on by words for some time after. Reached the town of Baton Rouge at 1 o'clock, 150 miles from New Orleans ; at this place the sugar plantations commence, and also the *lcyée* or raised bank to check the inundations of the river.

Visited one sugar plantation which seemed to be well conducted, and with much fewer negroes than we require in the West Indies. The sugar cane of this year's growth was smaller, and I should think not so rich and succulent as the cane in our colonies. The occasional frost here must of course check and injure the growth of the Plant. The houses and buildings are in excellent condition all along the river, a sure sign of the wealth and industry of the Proprietors.

November 27. Steamed all night and at 7 o'clock this morning reached New Orleans. It was raining hard and the appearance of the town, almost buried in mud, and the squallid, unhealthy look of the people was by no means cheering. In coming down the river we heard several unfavorable reports of the climate. We positively ascertained this morning that the yellow fever had been raging, and that the town was still unhealthy. This was by no means agreeable news, particularly as I felt very unwell from long confinement on board the Packet. We tried unsuccessfully at the Inns, where we were unable to procure any rooms, unless we consented to sleep in the same apartment with some dirty Americans. We fortunately heard of a boarding house in Canal street where we procured 2 very comfortable rooms. Walked through part of the town in the evening, which appears to be built on a flat, below the level of the banks of the river. Swamps surround you on all sides, indeed the town itself must originally have been a marsh. The water is everywhere stagnant even in the streets ;

the wooden pipes intended to carry it off not having elevation sufficient to allow it to run into the main. . . . I heard bull frogs croaking on all sides, harbored I suppose in the said wooden pipes.

November 28. We were fortunate in having fine weather today, which enabled us to reconnoitre the whole city. I still feel very unwell and desponding at the idea of being obliged to remain here some days for a vessel to Vera Cruz, between which place and New Orleans there is little communication. It is built (New Orleans) very like an old French provincial town: the same narrow streets, old fashioned houses, and lamps suspended by a chain across the road. Many of the houses are however picturesque, with their large projecting roofs and painted sides and windows, quite a contrast to the brick and mortar towns we have lately seen. The Americans are however introducing their taste very fast; many of the best stores and buildings have been constructed by the American merchants. The population including blacks is upward of 40,000, the greater part of which are still French, or speak only that language. The whole place has quite the air of a French town. I cannot conceive a more unhealthy, deadly situation than New Orleans during the last of summer. Bogs, swamps, morasses, in every direction, which they do not attempt to drain. Mosquitoes are of course abundant, even now they swarm in mirriads as bad as in the worst places in the West Indies. The export trade here consists principally of cotton, the sugar being entirely for home consumption. Passed by this morning the hospital for the poor, which is quite open to the street on the ground floor. I saw the unhappy wretches lying in great numbers in one large room, most of them sick with the fever. . . .

November 30. Went to the cathedral this morning: an old building of the mixed French and Spanish style of architecture. The inside was less ornamental than most Catholic churches. I observed one Madonna dressed in silk according to the latest Parisian fashion. There are 2 Catholic churches and one small Presbyterian church for the whole population: which I suppose, as Sterne says of the people of Calais, is enough to hold them all, or they would build another. I should suppose that New Orleans, like the small town of Natchez (I mentioned in my travels) is not famous for its morality or religious feeling. Those who come here on account of trade, think only of making money as fast as they can, and trouble themselves very little about other matters. The Baron de Manginy, to whom we brought a letter from General Bertrand [formerly aid-de-camp of Napoleon] called upon us today. He is the principal person in the place, though certainly not very distinguished in manner or appearance. We dined with him at a

very good house near the town, where I met a large party of French gentlemen. Not a word of English was spoken during the evening, which I did not regret, as I have no difficulty in conversing now in the French language. One of his daughters was a pretty girl: but looking sickly and unwell. This is the general appearance of all the women throughout the United States: I have seldom seen one with the healthy look of an English girl. To use the words of Tom Moore, they are *old in their youth and withered in their prime*, which is certainly true. I have seen however some very beautiful women, and they are uniformly superior to the men in manners and appearance.

December 1, 1828. A delightful morning with a cool refreshing breeze. Took my first lesson in Spanish of an old officer who served with the royalist army in Mexico. I can make myself understood at present but hope to speak the language fluently before I return to England. Walked to the farthest end of the town along the banks of the river. We saw some beautiful little villas, secluded in gardens, where many of the tropical plants were growing, the banana, orange trees, lime, etc., and the roses, jessamine, and other flowers were in full bloom. I observed this evening many well dressed women sitting on the steps in front of their houses. In most countries this would be considered an equivocal intimation of their character, but here it is done without impropriety by the most respectable.

December 2. The weather to-day has been excessively hot and sultry. Still quite out of sorts. Walked to the canal at the back of the town which connects this place with Lake Ponchartrain. . . . We walked down to the scene of one unfortunate engagement with the Americans in the last expedition to this country. It is 5 miles below the town near the bank of the river. You can see as little as in most battle-grounds, where I never discovered anything from the scene. Eden fancied he could make out General Jackson's lines of intrenchment, and where our troops were stationed. He had a doubly painful interest however in viewing the place, having lost a brother in the engagement.

December 3. I observe all the ships here engaged in the cotton trade to Liverpool are American; not more than 2 or 3 English vessels in the Port. I am afraid the Americans are superseding us fast as ship owners: although we have been told that England can compete with all nations as carriers. . . . In traveling through this country I observed that the whole commerce with England, which must be enormous, is carried by their own shipping alone. So much for the visionary idea, that English capital and industry would enable her to stand a contest with this country as a carrying nation.

## ARE WE A NATION WITHOUT CITIZENS

Article XIV. of the Constitution of the United States, has been part of the fundamental law of this country since July 28, 1868. And its definition of citizenship is so clear and comprehensive that it seems quite impossible to misunderstand it. It declares that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside."

No construction, it seems to me, is necessary to understand the meaning of such language as this. It destroys completely, as it was designed to destroy, the old "state Rights" theory and order of allegiance. A person may now be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of any one particular state; but he cannot be a citizen of any one particular state without being a citizen of the United States. To be a citizen of the United States, it is only necessary to be born or naturalized somewhere within our national territory and jurisdiction; whereas, to be a citizen of a state, another important element is necessary, namely, he must "reside" therein. Hence we are no longer a nation without citizens or subjects, as was virtually held, first by Mr. Jefferson, and subsequently by Mr. Calhoun; but a nation in fact as well as in name, rightfully demanding the ultimate allegiance, not of "states," but of living men and women.

Nevertheless, it is asserted by a writer in this Magazine (xix., 317, 318,) that "A citizen of the United States must be a citizen of some state." And again, in a foot-note, that "A man may be a citizen of a state and not of the United States."

Such propositions as these may have been tenable at almost any time during the first eighty years of our national history; because, during that whole period, a clear and authentic definition of the phrase "citizen of the United States," could be found neither in our legislative annals, nor in our judicial decisions, nor in the consentaneous action of any two departments of our government. But, made *now*, they logically involve the repudiation of a fundamental law, the validity of which has had the concurrent sanction of every department of our government for nearly a quarter of a century.

William L. Scruggs.

## THE FORUM

In the early days of this century, in New York City, say about 1815, the "New York Forum," a debating society, was established by some of the bright young men of the day; many of whom afterward became prominent in our civic and national history. In those days there was a dearth of public amusements. There was only one regular Theatre, "art" galleries were unknown, concerts there were none, and even the public lecturer was still to come. Among the amusements of the day, as a variant from dances and domestic pleasures, was the "Forum," the meetings of which were attended by the gay and fashionable of both sexes. In looking over some old papers I recently discovered the ancient subscription roll of that Society, with the original autograph signatures of its first members. Perhaps, as an addition to our local history, some of the readers of the Magazine may like to peruse the list. Many of the places of residence of the subscribing members are given. The document is, in that aspect, interesting, as indicating some of the portions of the city where many of the principal inhabitants, particularly the clever young men of the day, were domiciled. The original roll I will be happy to donate to any one of our local or historical bodies who may desire its possession.

The roll reads as follows:

"We the subscribers engage to form ourselves into an association, for the purpose of debate on the principles of the Forums, at Edinburgh, or the public debating societies in London; and to adopt and obey such regulations as may be made by the majority."

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>
J. P. C. Samspon,	6 Murray St.	Daniel D. Arden,	City Hotel
C. Watts,	Fulton St.	Michael Ulshoeffer,	Cedar St.
Benjamin Haight,	William St.	T. Pell	do. do.
James W. Gerard,	do.	Ogden Hoffman,	Vesey St.
Sam. Berrian,	Wall St.	John M. Macdonald,	70 Cherry St.
Thos. Fessenden,	Pine St.	H. Maxwell,	Nassau St.
James Stoughton,	Nassau St.	Henry Wheaton,	62 William St.
Stephen P. Lemoine,	Wall St.	John B. (	), 24 Cortlandt St.
Fred'k A. Talmadge,	Nassau St.	Edw. Livingston	
R. Emmet,	Nassau St.	Henry M. Smith	
Murray Hoffman,	Pine St.	G. A. Gamage	
Daniel Robert,	Pine St.	Ed. Huntington,	85 Fulton
Hiram Ketchum,	Beekman St.	Wm. L. Morris	

William Sampson  
I. P. C. Sampson  
W. Paxton Hallett  
Platt H. Crosby  
Milo D. Pettibone  
E. D. Whittesley  
B. Van Beuren  
Charles Gallaudet  
John Lorimer Graham  
John Frederick Sidel, 2 Wall  
St.  
Thos. Wills, 19 Cherry St.

Michl. Riedy  
F. Wandewater  
Luther Clark  
Elisha Everill  
O. L. Holley  
J. Blunt  
Edm. Wilkes  
John Mann  
H. L. Moses  
Wolfe Tone  
Edwd. Selden  
James Thayere

Ansel W. Goes, 282 Pearl St.  
James T. B. Romayne  
Junius H. Hatch, 24 Pine  
Thos. A. Emmet, Jr.  
Saml. S. Gardiner, No. 1  
Wall St.  
David Bacon, No. 321 Wil-  
liam St.  
James B. Brinsmade, No.  
53 John St.  
Lowman L. Hawes  
Rob. Lawrence

The poet Fitz-Greene Halleck was a contemporary of the "Forum;" and among his "*vers de société*" (and, with the exception of three or four pieces, his poems were nothing else), he thus celebrated the "Forum" in his characteristic sprightly, sarcastic way:

" 'Tis o'er—the fatal hour has come,  
The voice of eloquence is dumb,  
Mute are the members of the 'Forum!'  
We've shed what tears we had to spare,  
There now remains the pious care  
Of chanting a sad requiem o'er 'em.

\* \* \* \* \*

Resort of fashion, beauty, taste,  
The Forum-hall was nightly graced  
With all who blushed their hours to waste  
At balls—and such ungodly places;  
And Quaker girls were there allowed  
To show, among the worldly crowd,  
Their sweet blue eyes and pretty faces.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* For they, in grave debate,  
Weighed mighty themes of church and state  
With words of power, and looks of sages;  
While far diffused, their gracious smile  
Soothed Bony, in his prison isle,  
And Turkish wives, in harem-cages!

Heaven bless them! for their generous pity  
Toiled hard to light o'er darkened city,  
With that firm zeal that never flinches;  
And long, to prove the love they bore us,  
With 'more last words' they lingered o'er us,  
And died, like a tom-cat, by inches!"

*James W. Geisil*

## MINOR TOPICS

### "LESONS TO MAKEPEACE"

The genealogy of the Washington Family has been under investigation by experts for nearly a century, and still remains unsettled. Prior to 1792 it was an accepted tradition in the American branch of the family, that their ancestors emigrated from Yorkshire, in England. At about that period Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, in London, became interested in the subject and induced President Washington to compile a record of the family in America. As a result of their researches upon both sides of the Atlantic, it was concluded that the founders of the family in this country came from Northamptonshire, and not from Yorkshire. This opinion was confirmed by Baker, the historian of Northamptonshire, who published an elaborate pedigree of the Washington Family. This pedigree, with Heard's American continuation of it, was endorsed by Sparks, Irving, and other biographers of George Washington, but its accuracy has been questioned by later authorities, who engraft the American branch upon different English stocks. The issue is one which will never be satisfactorily settled, and notwithstanding the doubts that have been cast upon its accuracy, the Baker-Heard Pedigree will continue to attract attention because of its history and the eminent names associated with it. When it became necessary for the United States to have a flag, Washington's coat of arms, which he had adopted from the escutcheon of the Northamptonshire family, was adapted to the purpose, and our Stars and Stripes are the result. The stars, or more properly rowels, and the bars which suggested our flag, may be seen to-day upon the gateway of the old manor house at Sulgrave, where they were cut three centuries and a half ago.

The writer has recently obtained an old document which is of considerable interest on account of its connection with this matter. Upon pages 552-3 of Sparks' "The Writings of Washington" may be found the pedigree above referred to. It begins with the following historical summary: "In 30 Henry VIII (1538-9) the Manor of Sulgrave, parcel of the dissolved priory of Saint Andrew, and all the lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stotesbury and Cotton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said priory, and all lands in Sulgrave late belonging to the dissolved priories of Canons Ashby and Catesby, were granted to Lawrence Washington, Northampton, Gent. who died seized in 26 Eliz. (1583-4) leaving Robert Washington, his son and heir, aged forty years, who jointly with his eldest son Lawrence Washington, sold the Manor of Sulgrave, in Jac. (1610) to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London, Gent. Lawrence Washington, after the sale of this estate, retired to Brighton, where he died. His second son, John Washington, emigrated to America about

the middle of the seventeenth century, and was the great-grand father of George Washington, the first President of the United States."

The document mentioned above disproves some of the statements just given. It shows conclusively that Robert Washington did not sell the Manor of Sulgrave to his nephew Lawrence Makepeace, and also that he disposed of it prior to 1606, and not in 1610. Heretofore the chief objection to the Baker-Heard Pedigree has been the forced connection it makes between the Northamptonshire and the Virginian families. Its merit as a record of the family history in England is now brought in question, and the inaccuracies noted above must seriously impair its value. As a legal maxim has it, "That only is perfect which is complete in all its parts."

In Albert Welles' elaborate "Pedigree and History of the Washington Family," New York, 1879, it is stated that Lawrence Washington "died possessed of these lands (Sulgrave) 19 July, He Elizabeth (1584). His son and heir, Robert, jointly with his eldest son, Lawrence, sold the property, 43 Elizabeth (1600) to his nephew Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London." The date here given of the transfer is probably the correct one, but the statement that Lawrence Makepeace was the purchaser of Sulgrave at that time, is an error, which will be found corrected below.

The document is written in a quaint hand upon a sheet of parchment twenty-four and one-half inches high, by thirty inches wide. The top of it is indentured, and a strip at the bottom, one and one-fourth inches wide, is turned over upon the face of the sheet, and bears the signatures of Thomas Leson the Elder, and of Thomas Leson the Younger, the parties by whom the document was made. Folded strips of parchment, to the free ends of which seals were once attached, are woven into the folded edge of the sheet, and depend beneath each signature. The exposed surface of the parchment is much stained, and has inscribed upon it :

Lessons	}	7 March 4 <sup>o</sup> James 1 <sup>o</sup> 1606.
to		A grant of the Mannor and Lands in Sulgrave.
Makepeace		£1310. No. 1 a

The inside of the parchment is almost as white as when it was written upon, two hundred and eighty-two years ago, and the ink upon it has scarcely faded. Minute holes are pricked along the lateral margins of the sheet, and lines are drawn across in correspondence with them. Upon these lines the matter of the document is inscribed, in part, as follows :

"This indenture made the seaventh daye of March, in the yeare of the reigne of our sov'eigne Lord, James, by the grace of God, Kinge of England, France and Ireland, defend' of the faith, Between Thomas Leson the ld' of Sulgrave vs Sowlgrave, in the countie of Northton, Gent, and Thomas Leson of Noneaton in the countie of Warr, Gent, sone and heire apparent of the aforesaid Thomas Leson, on their parte, and Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London, Gent, on the

oth' pte, witnesseth that the said Thomas Leson the Father, and Thomas Leson the sone, for and in consideration of the some of tenne pounds of lawfull money of England, in hand payed by the said Lawrence Makepeace, unto the said Thomas Leson the fath', and for and in consideration of the some of thirteene hundred pounds of like lawfull English money to the said Thomas Leson the sone, by the said Lawrence Makepeace before and at the seallynge and delyvery of these presents, well and trulye paid, the receipte of w<sup>ch</sup> sev'all somes of tenne pounds and thirteene hundred pounds, the said Thomas Leson the fath' and Thomas Leson the sone, doe sev'ally and respectyvely acknowledge, and confess themselves satisfied, and of the said sev'all somes, and of everye parte and parcell of them, doe sev'ally and respectyvely acquite, exon'ate and discharge the said Lawrence Makepeace, his heirs, executo<sup>r</sup> and administrato<sup>r</sup>, and everye one of them forever by these presents, Have granted, aliened, bargayned and sold, and bye these presents doe fullye, freelie, and absolutlie grante, alien, bargayne, and sell unto the saide Lawrence Makepeace, his heirs and assignes, all that the Mannor of Sulgrave vs Sowlgrave, with all the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, or thereunto belonginge, in the said countie of Northton " . . . and so on in vain and almost endless repetition until the end is reached, where the date, 1606, appears. The name of Washington is not mentioned in the manuscript.

One of the interesting features of the instrument is the signatures of those who were present at the "seallynge and delyvery" of it. They are six in number and are inscribed upon the back of the parchment. Among them are the autographs of Robert Washington, the Elder, Lawrence Washington, and Robert Washington the Younger. Robert and his eldest son, instead of being the grantors of the Manor to Lawrence Makepeace, here appear, with the second son, as witnesses, merely, to the real transfer. According to the Baker Pedigree, Lawrence Washington was the great great grandfather, and Robert Washington, the Elder, was the great, great, great grandfather of George Washington.

The history of the document, as far as it can be traced, is, that it was brought to this country from England, some months ago, with other MSS., and sold to a gold-beater in New York, who prefers old parchment to pound upon, because it lasts longer. Observing the excellent preservation of this particular specimen, he sold it to a dealer in old books, from whom the writer purchased it.



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### EARLY NEW ENGLAND ARBITRATION

*Contributed by Mr. Clark Jillson.*

[*Editor Magazine of American History*: The following is a copy of a document more than two hundred years old, which shows how a dispute about the boundary between Rhode Island and Connecticut was amicably settled and who settled it.—CLARK JILLSON.]

WHEREAS some difference hath of late fallen out between M<sup>r</sup> John Winthrop, Agent for the taking out a Pattent for the Colony of Connecticut, and M<sup>r</sup> John Clark Agent for the taking out a Pattent for the Colony of Providence and Rhode Island concerning the right meaning of Certain Bounds sett down in a pattent lately granted to the said Colony of Connecticut AND WHEREAS by Reason of the doubtfullness of some Names, and Expressions mentioned in the said Pattent, and for the better preventing of all Disputes that might arise between the said Colonies hereafter, by Reason of such uncertainties, and dubiousness, They, the said John Winthrop and John Clark have jointly and mutually nominated, chosen, and appointed, William Breereton Esq<sup>r</sup>, Major Robert Thompson, Captain Richard Dean Captain John Brook Haven, and Doctor Benjamin Worsley or any three, or more of them to Hear, and to consider the state of the said Difference, and to determine what they Judge, might be most Commodious, in order to the settling the said Bounds, Clearing up all Uncertainties, and giving a mutual Satisfaction to both the said Colonies WE whose names are underwritten, having in pursuance of their requests met together, and having at large heard what hath been alledged on each side, on behalf of themselves and the respective Colonies to whom they do respectively belong, upon serious debate, and consideration had of the whole matter WE have jointly, and unanimously agreed to offer this advice as followeth Firstly that a River there, commonly called and known by the Name of Pawcatuck River shall be the Certain Bounds between those two Colonies, which said River shall for the future be also called alias Neregansett or Narragansett River, Secondly if any part of that purchase at Quinebage doth lie along upon the East side of the River that goeth down by New London within six miles of the said River, that then it shall wholly belong to Connecticut Colony as well as the rest which lieth on the western side of the aforesaid River Thirdly that the Proprietors, and Inhabitants of that land about M<sup>r</sup> Smith's Trading House claimed or purchased by Major

Atherton, Captain Hutchinson, Lieutenant Hudson and others, or given unto them by Indians shall have free liberty to Chuse to which of those Colonies they will belong Fourthly that Proprietie, shall not be altered nor destroyed, but carefully maintained through the said Colonies.

Dated this seventh of April 1663.

William Breereton

Robert Thompson

B Worsley

Jo Brookhaven

TO the four Proposals above mentioned WE the said John Winthrop and John Clark do consent, and submit, as a full and final Issue of all the controversies between US ; In Witness whereof We have interchangeably Set our Hands and Seals this Seventh Day of April Anno Dom 1663 and in the fifteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the Faith &c.

Signed sealed and

delivered in pres-

ence of

John Clark (Seal)

Robert Thompson

B. Worsley.

A true Copy of the Original

Examin<sup>d</sup> By George Wyllys

Secret'y

## NOTES

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND THANKSGIVING—In July, 1630, several hundred English—men, women, and children—were trying to live in huts and tents on or around the town hill in Charlestown (Massachusetts). They had recently escaped discomforts on the sea for privations on shore. Seven small vessels that had brought them from kindred and former homes lay in the river. Forests and wild lands, where there were men as wild, spread inland. There were no mines or great extents of fertile land, and there were few to welcome or to help them. Nearly all the inhabitants were Indians, so called. Along the coasts of what we name New England there were only scanty groups of countrymen: in Maine perhaps five hundred persons; in Rhode Island and Connecticut were none; in Massachusetts were a few, but little more than those at Salem, Beverly, and Lynn, at Dorchester and Plymouth; there was one man on the neighboring peninsula of Boston, and on Noddle's Island, Samuel Maverick. July 8, 1630, they kept a public day of thanksgiving for their arrival, a day observed through all the plantation; one that might be called the first great New England Thanksgiving, and observed upon Town

Hill by probably the largest number of English that had yet been gathered on New England ground.—*James F. Hunnewell's Century of Town Life.*

WEATHERSFIELD BOW—In the appendix to Everett P. Wheeler's interesting little monograph on "Sir William Pepperrell," we find the following: "Weathersfield Bow was one of those curious hamlets, common before the days of railroads, of which few now remain. The little village was almost sufficient to itself. The flocks and herds of the farmers provided them with meat; the skins were tanned in the village tannery, and made into shoes and boots by the village shoemaker; the wool of the sheep was spun and woven by the village housewives on hand-loom, and made by the village tailors into garments; the maple trees supplied sugar; the candles were tallow dips made from the fat of the cattle that had been slaughtered by the village butcher; the wheat raised on the meadows was ground in the village grist-mill; and the houses were built from their own tall pines. When the railroad from Boston reached the opposite side of the river in 1849, all these local industries vanished, and the neighborhood became exclusively agricultural."

## QUERIES

*Editor of Magazine of American History:* In Vol. V., page 446, of your magazine you make reference to "The Saint Mémin Portraits," and suggest the publication of reproductions from the

copper plates; which I am sorry to see you have not been able to continue.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art possesses one of the two copies left by St. Mémin of his collection of engraved portraits,

"All choice proofs of his own selection," 819 in number. He wrote the names with his own hand beneath the portraits. An interesting little circular has been published by the gallery, which gives an account of the life and artistic career of St. Mémin. It states that he left France in 1790 an account of the revolution—that he "began his artistic career by taking views of New York, beautifully tinted, and his success led him to taking life size crayon portraits, in profile, on paper of a pinkish color. He invented a machine to do this with greater accuracy, and another to reduce the portraits to a small size for engraving."

There is in this city, in the possession of descendants, a life size crayon portrait, in profile, on paper of a pinkish color, of Capt. John G. Clark, who was in Paris about 1801 to 1803. They have also a reduced copy engraved after the style of St. Mémin. This reduced copy bears the following inscription: "Dess. p. Fournier gr. p. Chrétien inv. du physionotrace rue honoré vis-a-vis l'oratoire Nos 45 et 133 à Paris."

Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, New Edition, thoroughly revised, edited by Robert Edmund Graves of the British Museum, London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden (Part 1, January, 1884), Part 3, has:

"Chrétien, Gilles Louis, a French musician, was born at Versailles in 1754. In 1787 he invented a machine called a 'physionotrace' with which he took portraits in profile from life, which were reduced to silhouettes, usually by Fouquet, and then engraved in aquatint by himself, 'L'Incorruptible Robespierre,'

Mirabeau, and Marat being among the hundreds which he produced. He died in Paris in 1811."

Was not St. Mémin a pupil of Chrétien's, if not, was it not a remarkable coincidence that he should have *invented* so similar an apparatus in so short a time after Chrétien?

W. L.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ELIZABETH CANNING—In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (Vol. XXIV.) we read: "This morning, May 30, 1754, Elizabeth Canning was brought to the Old Bailey to receive her sentence, one month imprisonment, and transportation for seven years;" further, July 31, Elizabeth Canning is ordered to be transported to some one of his Majesty's American colonies, and has been delivered to the merchant who contracted with the court, to be transported accordingly. In the Annual Register for 1761 (p. 179) there is this statement: Elizabeth Canning has arrived in England, and has received a legacy of £500 left her three years ago by an old lady in Newington Green.

For a half-century before the Revolution felons-convict were transported to America every year and almost every month. Their names are known or can be easily ascertained, but the place of their landing is seldom specified. Elizabeth Canning is one who was brought to New England. She returned there after obtaining her legacy. Her death was at Wethersfield in Connecticut in 1773. She had married Mr. Treat or a man of a name sounding like that. (*Gentlemen's Magazine*, Vol. LXXXIII. 2nd, p. 337.)

It will throw light on dark passages in our annals if some one—writing either to me, or to the Magazine of American History, will answer any or all of the following questions :

1. What sort of contracts were made for the transportation of convicts ?
2. In what vessel did Elizabeth Canning come to New England ?
3. How many other convicts came in the same ship ?
4. What became of any of them ?
5. What was the true and full name of her husband ?
6. Was her marriage before the term of her transportation had expired ?
7. Were transports a sort of white slaves ? or what was their condition ?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

PORTRAIT OF NATHANIEL PENDLETON  
—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: May I ask through the pages of your publication if there is any likeness known to exist of Nathaniel Pendleton, who served upon the staff of General Greene in the Revolution, and was the second of Hamilton in the celebrated duel ?  
C. P.

PHILADELPHIA.

*Editor of the Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers kindly inform me as to the personal history and ancestry of Rev. Dr. Leaming or Leming of Connecticut, a member of the Church of England and a great Tory during the Revolution ? He was known as "Bishop" Leaming.  
H. P. R.

ALBANY, Apr. 6th, '88.

## REPLIES

THE MILITIA OF NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTION [xix. 340]—The following letter written by Governor Livingston of New Jersey to Baron Steuben will be of interest in connection with the note on the Militia of New Jersey printed in the April number. It is copied from *Yale in the Revolution*, by Prof. Henry P. Johnston, page 120.

Raritan, 21st June, 1780.

Dr. Baron :—I met your favor of yesterday on the road on my return from the Assembly. They have passed a more rigorous law for reducing the militia to military discipline ; and the law for filling up our Brigade, I hope will also speedily have its effect. But it must be confessed that we are always too late

and generally begin to think of providing our quota when we ought to open the campaign. I am sorry to hear that our militia quit their posts before the expiration of their time. It is indeed enough to exhaust the patience of any officer who has the direction of them. But, my dear sir, there is a kind of passive as well as active fortitude that we must exercise on these occasions, General Washington, who has exhibited a thousand instances of that kind of suffering heroism, ought to animate us by all his illustrious example. Think not, my dear Baron, of resigning your present command ; tho' in one sense an officer is in danger of reaping not but disgrace by commanding such a disorderly band ; yet when it is duly considered *how disorderly*

they are, that he does great things even with such material, it must add to his glory.

The militia from the lower counties of this State are on their way in considerable numbers. Gov. Reed informs me that his militia are ready to march to our assistance at a moment's warning.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have the honor to be, Dr. Sir, &c.,

William Livingsgton.

Major Gen'l Baron Steuben.

MINTO

MATCH-COAT [xix. 348]—In Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary will be found as follows:

Match-coat, a large loose coat made of match-cloth—*American*.

Match-cloth—a coarse woollen cloth, —*American*.

W. K.

GERMANTOWN, PA.

CHURCH WORSHIP [xix. 346]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: "In answer to the query, 'In what Church in Europe are Roman Catholic and Protestant services held at the same time?' I would say it is the Gothic 'Stiftskirche,' or 'Heilig-Geistkirche,' in Heidelberg. A wall which the Roman Catholic Count Palatine Johann Wilhelm had built in 1705, separates the nave from the choir, the Protestants using the former for their services, while the Roman Catholics (now the 'Old Catholics') hold their services in the latter.

M. R. C.

NEW YORK CITY.

VIRGINIA STATE NAVY [xix. 346]—I have a manuscript history of that part of Virginia's military forces, which I prepared from original documents, and other

authentic sources of information. "W. H." can possibly obtain the information he desires by applying to me.

WILLIAM P. PALMER

1008 E. Clay St.,

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

CHURCH WORSHIP [xix. 346]—See "Sketches of Travel, or Twelve Months in Europe," page 262. In Florence only a single wall separates the American Episcopal Church from an old Roman Catholic Church, the front doors of both opening on the same street.

H. K.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHURCH WORSHIP [xix. 346]—The church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, one of the most important buildings in that ancient city of Germany, is so constructed, with a partition wall running through the middle of the edifice, that the services of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants may be held at the same time. In the year 1719 an effort was made by Charles Philip, the elector, to deprive the Protestants of their half of the church, but the towns-people made so strong a resistance, that he was obliged not only to desist, but to remove the electoral court from Heidelberg to Mannheim.

Heidelberg is celebrated chiefly for its university, which is five hundred years old, and has still upward of one hundred professors and an average of more than seven hundred students. The library of the university is one of the largest in Germany, containing many old and valuable manuscripts.

ANTIETAM

BALTIMORE, MD.

## SOCIETIES

THE NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting Monday evening, March 19, President Francis Brinley in the chair. The committee to whom was referred the matter of participation in the proposed Mason Memorial at New London, and the signing of a petition to Congress for the commemoration of the discovery of America by Leif Erickson, reported adversely on each, and the report was accepted. The annual reports of the president, treasurer and librarian were read and approved. The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows: president, Francis Brinley; vice-presidents, George Gordon King, J. N. K. Southwick; recording secretary, H. B. Wood; corresponding secretary, W. P. Sheffield, Jr.; treasurer, Ralph R. Barber; librarian, R. H. Tillery; curator, Howard Smith. A highly interesting and valuable paper on the French in Rhode Island was read by Dr. H. R. Storer. He described Frenchtown, which was a little settlement in 1686 of about forty-eight French Huguenots in what is now the southeast corner of East Greenwich. The next year the colony had increased to one hundred persons, and their minister was the Reverend Ezechiel Carré, supposed to have been a relative of Gabriel Bernon of Newport, a refugee from La Rochelle. The paper was crowded with interesting detail.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting on March 26, President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair. Rev. Dr. W. T. Gibson read

VOL. XIX.—No. 5.—30

an excellent paper on "The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization," which theme he said might perhaps be better expressed by "The genius of Anglo-Saxon law and institutions contrasted with the imperialism of Latin Civilization." He said: "Among our Saxon forefathers there were indeed all the elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy together. The original term of land among them, when they sub-divided the common or 'folk land,' was the allodial, mostly the same as our fee simple or absolute ownership, subject only to service in the field and the repair of fortresses and bridges. The feudal system came in only with the Norman conquest, and that was modified and nearly broken down by the superior persistence of English law as early as the reign of Duke William's grandson. Magna Charta in its provision for levying of scutages only by the 'common council of the Kingdom,' as well as Simon de Montfort in securing the representation of the boroughs in parliament, did as much as anything to wipe out practically the feudal system, and to restore the real spirit and principles of old Saxon law and government."

THE FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (Conn.) held its regular monthly meeting in Bridgeport, on the evening of March 15, President R. B. Lacy in the chair. A paper was read by George A. Hyde which had been written by Judge J. W. Fowler of Milford, on Bridgeport's early history and leading men. It was an agreeable chapter of

recollections, Judge Fowler having gone to Bridgeport a youth in 1827, when there were but two churches—St. John's Episcopal, fronting on State street, nearly opposite the present court-house, and the other a Presbyterian church, Rev. Mr. Waterman pastor. He described the principle firms of the time; the trade, he said, was mostly with Boston and New York.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting March 20, President Gammell in the chair. Mr. James Burdick read the concluding part of his paper entitled "A California Forty-Niner." He recapitulated in brief the history of his first thirteen years in California, as given in his former lecture. He then set sail for British Columbia, where he made a protracted stay. Mr. Burdick gave a very interesting description of the mode of living and general customs of the Indians of that locality, especially on the Lower Frazier river. The Indians are a nobler race than those of lower and middle California. The governor of the province was a man of simple habits, but he was greatly loved and respected by the natives, who tendered him a continual body guard. Mr. Burdick and his associates met with a series of adventures with the Indians before reaching Lytton, their point of destination. Most of the packs are carried by the woman, who have a strap around their forehead, which falling across the shoulders reaches to the middle of the back. Most of the men devote themselves to the chase. Americans are called by the natives Boston men, while Englishmen are known as King

George men, named so from certain vessels from foreign countries.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the April meeting of the Society held on the evening of Tuesday, April 3, the president, Hon. John A. King, occupied the chair. Additions to the library during the past month aggregating four hundred and thirty-seven books, pamphlets, charts and engravings were reported. The paper of the evening entitled "Sir Henry Clinton and Movements on the Hudson in 1779," was read by Henry P. Johnston, Professor of History in the College of the City of New York. The unpublished correspondence of the British Commanders with the Home Government, cited by Professor Johnston, presented in a new and peculiarly interesting light the sagacity of Washington in refusing to be drawn into a general engagement. In this connection the capture of Stony Point by the detachment under Wayne was shown to be, not an aimless act of valor, but the annihilation of Clinton's plan of campaign.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its annual business meeting in New York, April 13, President John Jay in the chair. After the reading and adoption of the reports, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Hon. John Jay, president; Edward F. De Lancey, vice-president for New York; Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, vice-president for Staten Island; Henry M. Lester, vice-president for New Rochelle; Charles M. Du Puy, vice-president for Pennsylvania; Banyer Clarkson, secretary; P. W. Gallaudet, treasurer.

## HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

In the freshness of our great sorrow we can only make brief allusion to the valuable life which suddenly went out on the 23d of March last, that of Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite. For fourteen years he has been the presiding officer of a great tribunal, the most conspicuous figure in the jurisprudence of the nation, and his career has been touched by no stain, by no reproach, by no fault or failing, either official or personal. Chief Justice Waite spent his life in the unassuming performance of his duty, swayed by no partisan considerations, with no personal or selfish ambitions, high toned in his sense of honor as a lawyer, dignified in his bearing and just in his judgments on the bench, displaying great learning in his opinions, while his manliness, fearlessness, humanity, and generosity, in his associations with men endeared him to the whole country. Few men have lived among us whose death will be so widely mourned. His private character was singularly pure and noble, and the loveliness of his family life a precious memory. Wherever he was known he was beloved with a personal affection.

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We are told by Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., in his new work on *The Puritan Age*, that "Quakerism, in its origin, was an eclecticism in tenets of belief and in principles of life and conduct. It did not originate as novelties either its eccentricities or its substantial principles, with the application of them. All the peculiarities of opinion and all the oddities and extravagances of demeanor first noticeable in the Friends had been adopted and exhibited by one or another of the extraordinary individuals or fellowships among the sectaries of the time. . . . And this in fact was largely the occasion of the misconception, the ill reception, and the odium which were concentrated upon the Friends. Their opinions and actions identified them with various types of fanatics and enthusiasts, who in their previous appearance had held these heresies in connection with some gross immoralities, some really malignant and defiant outrages and avowals which made them justly amenable to restraints and penalties. The Quakers really held none of these evil affiliations of heresy. They were, however, made responsible for them."

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Gouverneur Morris rendered some services to Washington, while in Paris during the last decade of the last century, that did not come within the line of his public duties. One of these was to purchase a gold watch, Washington having requested him to do so, "not a small, trifling, nor a finical, ornamental one, but a watch well executed in point of workmanship, large and flat, with a plain handsome key." Morris forwarded the watch to the "Father of his Country" by Jefferson, sending "two copper keys and one golden one, and a box containing a spare spring and glasses."

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"My keenest recollection of George Bancroft," wrote John W. Forney, "was very many years ago, March 4, 1845, when he was forty-five and I was twenty-nine. His hair was then as black as Governor Hartranft's—a tall, straight, olive-faced, white-teethed, gold-spectacled scholar. I had learned to honor him before. At that time I was a democrat of democrats, and he was one my leaders and idols; and when I met him first I was

deep in the early volumes of his incomparable *History of the United States*, which began in 1834, and had run into its third volume in 1840. "The splendor of its diction, and especially its high republican tone, gave it an extraordinary hold upon the people; and there was hardly an American or European review that did not greet its first volumes with the same enthusiasm that welcomes the last. He came to Washington after the election of President Polk to accept the appointment of Secretary of the Navy, and I remember right well a dinner at the National Hotel in that city one day before the inauguration."

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"The dinner was given by Commodore Robert F. Stockton, of New Jersey," continued Mr. Forney. "Mr. Bancroft was not one of the party. Mr. Buchanan, Robert J. Walker, John R. Thompson, of New Jersey, Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, and a few more gathered around the board; and when the impulsive New Jersey sailor, Commodore Stockton, offered a wager of a basket of champagne that he could name the cabinet of the incoming President, the bet was immediately taken by Mr. Buchanan. The names were written by the Commodore and put in an envelope, which was placed in my hands. The Commodore lost the wager because he did not include George Bancroft as Secretary of the Navy. The new administration started with a new cabinet in the full tide of success, June 8, 1845. Andrew Jackson, the ex-president of the United States, died at the Hermitage in Tennessee. It was necessary to pay immediate honors to that intrepid historical character, and it was also necessary that an orator should be secured. George Bancroft was selected, and he discharged his duty with such zeal and accuracy, and pronounced his speech with a rhetoric so magnetic, as to capture the listening thousands."

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Senator Hoar, in his recent address at the Centennial Celebration in Marietta, said: "We feel quite proud of our historical achievements in Massachusetts, and there is nothing which that commonwealth has ever done for humanity or for human liberty in which she takes a greater pride than the share which she had in the founding of Ohio. There are probably no two states in the country, probably no two communities on the face of the earth, which are more alike in opinion, in character, and in history, than these two great commonwealths. Ohio herself can not be better described than by saying of her that she is an enlarged and glorified Massachusetts."

In an address before the Historical Society on the same occasion, the Hon. William Henry Smith, formerly secretary of the state of Ohio, and for some years past general manager of the Associated Press, treated of the political contest in the territory northwest of the Ohio river, and in the early years of the state under the general title of "A familiar talk about Monarchists and Jacobins." Concluding he said: "Let us not despair of the Republic, but acquiring the faith that strengthened the immortal Lincoln in days as dark, believe that Providence will find a way for rendering useful for good the enormous wealth in the possession of the few and of transforming to conservative American citizens the refugees of Europe without the horrors of crime and bloody revolution. Much depends upon Ohio, whose central location gives her great power. Heretofore her leaders have been actuated by a noble ambition; her citizens have responded to every call of patriotism. Private and public virtue still abound. The value of the influence of the lives of her great men can not be overestimated. Let the citizens of Ohio not forget the lessons of the glorious past, or those to whose hands hereafter shall be confided the power of the Commonwealth and of the Nation."

## BOOK NOTICES

PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I., Part II. History of the College of California. By SAMUEL H. WILLEY, D.D. Quarto, pp. 440. 1887. California Historical Society. San Francisco.

This work is a most valuable contribution to the educational history of our country. The idea of founding a college in California was discussed in that exciting year 1849, simultaneously as it were with the discovery of gold. After many birth throes an academy was opened with three pupils in 1853, by Rev. Henry Durant, which was incorporated into a college in 1855. The author of the sketch before us was one of its executive officers for several years, and thus is exceptionally well equipped for the preparation of this interesting record. California, as we all know, was then very sparsely settled, and boys to be educated by no means numerous; but the academy had become self-supporting before it blossomed into a college. It was the erection of buildings for its use that made it necessary to solicit funds from the East in order to go forward with the work. Dr. Willey, who made personal efforts in this field, soon found that *money* would not be given to California. He said "California was famous as a gold-producing country, and it seemed to people absurd that Californians should be asking for money! I obtained a few thousand dollars in small sums, but my cause did not take hold as I knew it ought to have done, and it never did afterward. In making my applications for a week or two in the fall of 1855, I had many pleasant interviews with most excellent gentlemen. They had not become millionaires as yet, as some of them became afterward, but they gave the subject their attention, and generally contributed something. Mr. Aspinwall did so cheerfully, perhaps because his connection with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company made him acquainted with the real need of California. Mr. C. R. Robert, who, years afterward, founded Robert College in Constantinople, listened with interest to what I had to say, and so did William E. Dodge, and Anson G. Phelps, and others, and all subscribed something, but the sums were not large. I went to see Commodore Vanderbilt. I unfortunately found him in bad humor. Things had evidently been going wrong with his Nicaragua steamship line. He was very severe that day on California, and in very emphatic words, not worth while to repeat, wished the country no good. It was an odd interview, and amused me very much, but it yielded no money." The progress of the institution is traced by Dr. Willey with a master hand, and in a style that is exceedingly interest-

ing; and the reader will obtain from these pages a clear idea of its grade of scholarship, and of its principles and aims, both educational and religious. In the Appendix to the volume are given in full many of the orations which have been delivered on its anniversary occasions from time to time. It also contains the names of the students from the beginning, and an excellent index.

HISTORY OF PRUSSIA UNDER FREDERIC THE GREAT. By HERBERT TUTTLE. Vols. II. and III. 16mo, pp. 642. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These volumes are designed to be the second and third of the series so happily introduced by the volumes covering the history of the kingdom to the accession of Frederic. The author has devoted such portion of his time as could be spared from his duties as a professor in Cornell University to the preparation of this very full and compendious work, and the reception accorded the first volumes by scholars and critics fully attests its value as a contribution to historic literature. The fourth and fifth volumes are in preparation, bringing the story down to the death of Frederic. The recent death of the good Emperor of Germany will, no doubt, stimulate interest in the history of his realm, of which the Prussian segment bears such an important part. The reader must of necessity refer to the earlier volume for the introductory history of the great Prussian monarch's life. No author, in view of Carlyle's great work, can venture upon the same ground without at least offering some valid excuse for doing so. Professor Tuttle finds this in the researches made during a long residence in Berlin, when he became convinced that Carlyle had not adequately studied the system of Prussian government during the last century, a knowledge of which he regards as absolutely essential if one would comprehend the triumphs of Frederic and the achievements of Prussian power during his reign. He is of the opinion that Carlyle, in casting about for some topic to which he might devote his pen, hit by chance as it were upon the one which has done so much to render his name famous as a historian. This is a somewhat bold stand for a comparatively unknown author, but he appears measurably to justify the assumption. He cites numerous authorities, among which are many which Carlyle must have failed to find, or which he purposely ignored. Sources of information are now open to the student which in Carlyle's day were inaccessible, and to this fact alone Professor Tuttle is justified in ascribing what he regards as inaccuracies, if nothing more.

Since Carlyle's time the archives of Austria and Russia have been ransacked and a vast amount of new material has been unearthed. Of this a very large proportion has been published in the various continental languages; but in English no adequate review or compilation has appeared, and the author has with commendable zeal and diligence sought to make good the deficiency. In most cases he cites the authorities quoted, and an exhaustive index renders comparison easy. Carlyle apparently studied with conscientious zeal all the books that he could obtain, but the manuscript authorities he perhaps unavoidably left untouched.

In style and classification the volumes are all that can reasonably be asked for, and the maps, always interesting in a book of this character, are clear and simple.

At the death of Frederic the kingdom of Prussia was perhaps the most powerful of the nations; now again, in her new alliance with Germany, she is almost or quite at the head of Dame Europa's School. At all events, her history is one of the most profoundly interesting and suggestive of modern times, and Professor Tuttle's contributions to its elucidation have already attained a recognized position among historical works in English libraries.

**HISTORIC WATERWAYS.** By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES. 16mo, pp. 293. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1888.

It is the favorite boast of canoeists that their fraternity embraces, more almost than any other, representatives of the professions and semi-professions that include a very large proportion of the pleasantest and most congenial people in the land. They will not, therefore, be especially surprised at learning that the secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society is one of their number, nor that he has gone into print in an account of a canoe cruise taken in company with his wife, over 600 miles of western rivers. Being a historian, his book naturally takes color from his tastes, and, unlike the stories of most canoeing expeditions, deals with many matters that would escape the ordinary observer. The long route traversed lies along the Rock, Fox, and Wisconsin rivers, waterways than which none others in the great West are richer in reminiscences of the early French explorers, and of early border warfare. The narrative divides itself into three portions, one for each of the rivers named, and outline maps precede each of the subdivisions. With the instinct of a trained book maker the author has added a complete index, and a glance at its items shows how affectionately he has traced the historic landmarks that marked the progress of his long voyage. As a narrative the volume is all that can be desired, full of the incidents that enliven every such trip,

and of a well-sustained and varied interest from beginning to end.

**ONLY A YEAR, AND WHAT IT BROUGHT.** By JANE ANDREWS. 16mo pp. 233. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The year is one in the life of two American girls, and what it brought is told in a bright narrative style that commends the author at once to any one who is not acquainted with her previous publications. It is a thoroughly healthful story, without any of the morbid affectations that are too common in tales of the period. There are several exciting passages of adventure, but nothing that may not happen to any boy or girl resident in a manufacturing town.

**REPORT OF THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES.** By DOUGLAS BRYMNER, Archivist. 1887. Being an appendix to the report of the Minister of Agriculture. 8vo, pamphlet. Ottawa, Canada. Maclean, Roger and Co. 1888.

This work is of interest to every American, containing, as it does, important documents relating to the reception and settlement of the loyalists who left the United States at the close of the Revolution. Many of the Canadian families at the present time are descendants of these loyalists; and although several works have been written on the subject, the correspondence in the Haldimand Collection gives a fund of interesting details not before known to the public. The Haldimand Collection, together with the state papers of the Colonial Office (1755 to 1791), furnishes the most authentic account of the events of that stirring period. The Haldimand Papers were presented to the British Museum in 1857, by Mr. W. Haldimand, nephew of General Haldimand, by whose care they had been preserved. A portion of the much talked about negotiations with Vermont are here, which were begun in March, 1779, with the leaders, Governor Chittenden, General Ethan Allen, Colonel Ira Allen and Colonel Fay. Besides the letters and documents of miscellaneous correspondence scattered through these Haldimand Papers, there are nine volumes of secret intelligence, the contents of which relate, to a large extent, to these negotiations with Vermont, containing besides the documents interchanged, reports of the interviews, etc., very few of which have as yet been made use of by historical writers. In addition to affairs relating especially to Canada, there are accounts of the ill-conceived expedition of Hamilton to Post Vincennes; correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton on affairs to the southward; minute details of the

scouting expeditions under Butler, Joseph Brandt and other partisans; and the more formidable expeditions of Sir John Johnson and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton. The correspondence with his friends in Quebec, after Haldimand ceased to be governor, gives interesting accounts of the state of the province under Carleton, the influence over his mind of Chief-Justice Smith, and the course of the latter with respect to legal procedure.

THE MAN BEHIND. A novel. By T. S. DENISON. 16mo, pp. 311. Chicago. T. S. Denison.

A few months ago *An Iron Crown* was one of the literary sensations of the day, and a new novel from the same hand is sure of a large audience. *The Man Behind* is unlike its fortunate predecessor in some respects, but carries enough resemblance to it in style and general motive to confirm the good opinion of his qualities that has been already formed. The scene is laid in the "Paw Paw" state, and the characters are for the most part the rough mountain men who afford such picturesque material for the appreciative student of human nature. The story deals with the three motives that underlie nearly all human actions—love, avarice and ambition. In fact, no story that deals with truth can be written without largely depending upon those three common motives of humanity. Originality, when it exists at all, must depend upon combinations rather than upon fundamental incident, and this quality the author of *The Man Behind* possesses in a marked degree. Of course where avarice and ambition play their part, sin and wrongdoing are a necessary consequence, and of these the characters of the book are by no means destitute. The draught is stronger than milk and water, but it has wholesome qualities for all that.

GOVERNEUR MORRIS. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. [American Statesmen, edited by John T. Morse, Jr.] 16mo, pp. 370. Boston and New York. 1888. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Roosevelt has produced an animated and intensely interesting biographical volume, which may be properly classified as a study of the public character and services of the versatile and brilliant statesman, Gouverneur Morris. Mr. Roosevelt pertinently remarks in his preface that "the reputations of our early statesmen have in no way proved their vitality more clearly than by surviving their entombment in the pages of the authors who immediately succeeded them." Of Jared Sparks, Morris' sole biographer hitherto, Mr. Roosevelt, after commending

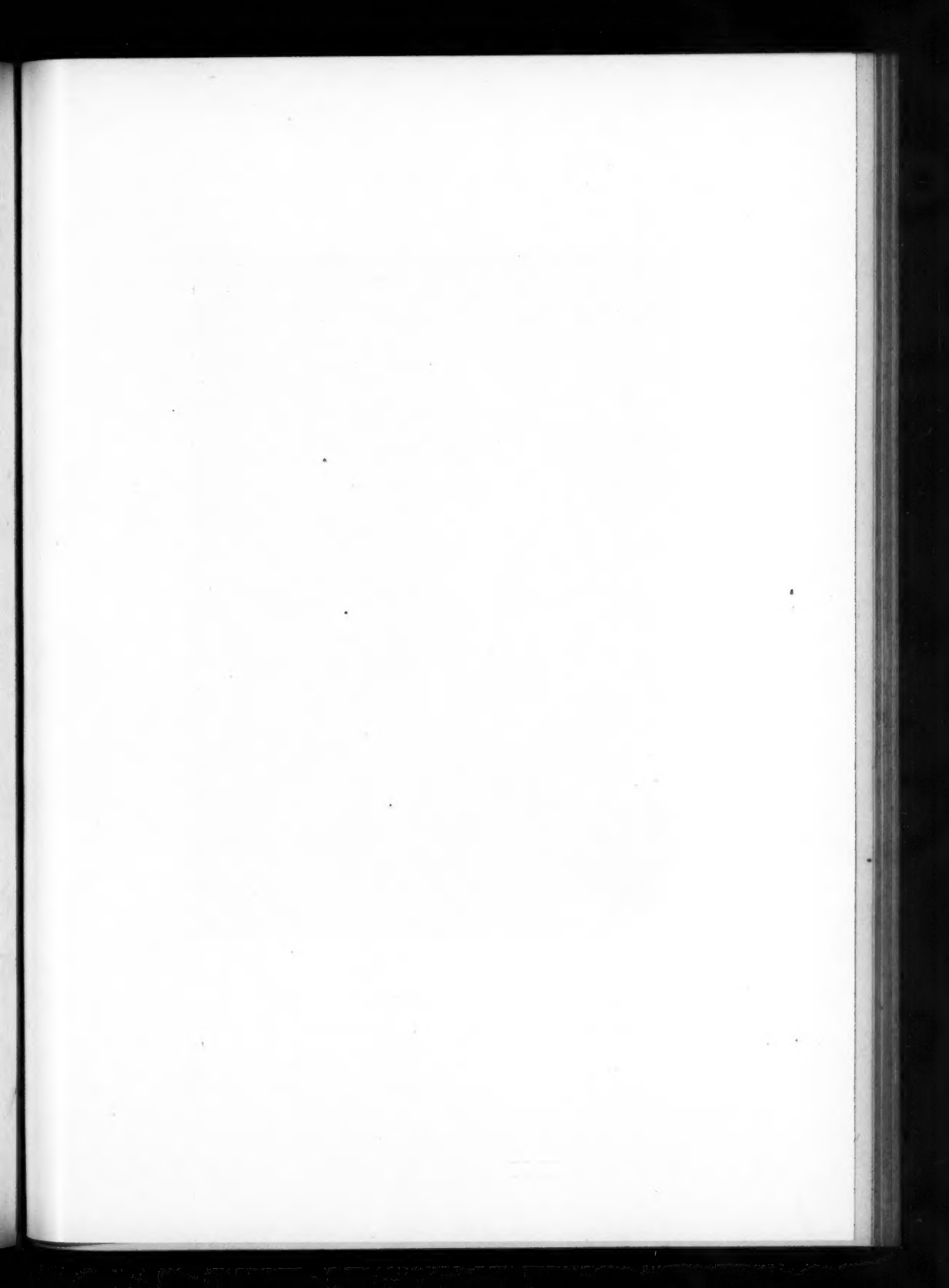
his valuable services in preserving American history for the student, says: "The value, however, comes wholly from the matter. . . . He was funnily unconscious of his own prolix dullness, and actually makes profuse apologies for introducing extracts from Morris' bright, interesting writings into his own drearily platitudinous pages, hoping that 'candor and justice' will make his readers pardon the 'negligence' and 'defects of style' which the extracts contain. He could not resist the temptation now and then to improve Morris' English, and to soften down, or omit anything that he deemed either improper or beneath the stilted 'dignity' of history. For example, Morris states that Marie Antoinette, when pursued by the Parisian fish-wives, fled from her bed 'in her shift and petticoat, with her stockings in her hand.' Such particularity struck Mr. Sparks as shockingly coarse, and with much refinement he replaced the whole phrase by 'in her undress.'"

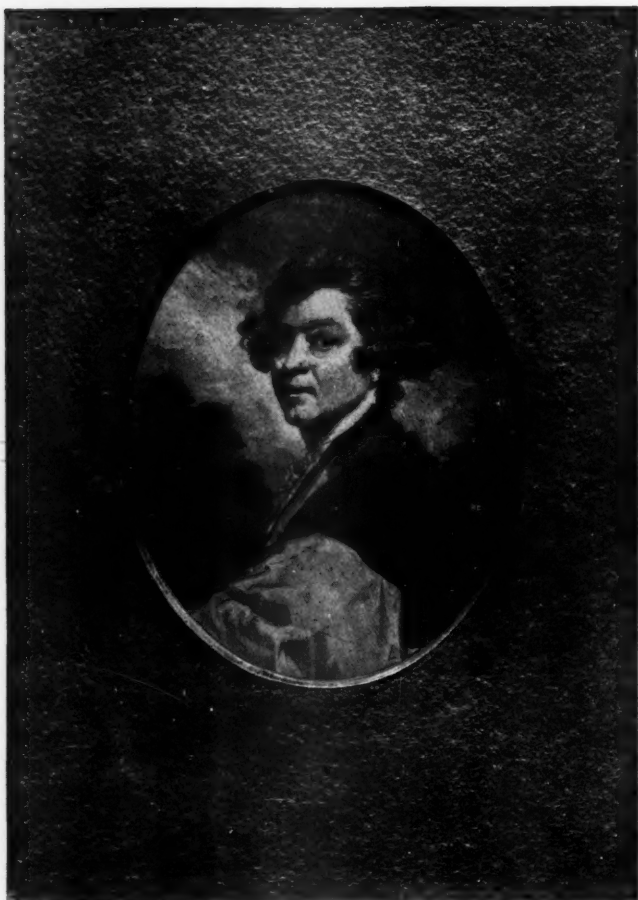
The reader in opening this book is brought into close sympathy with the subject of it from the very first page. The bright, active boy is more fond of frolic than he is of study; but he makes a fair record nevertheless, and graduates from college with honor as the orator of his class, his theme being, "Wit and Beauty," treated in the "dreadful Johnsonian English of the period." A little later on he takes his master's degree with a second speech, "as bad as the first, disfigured by cumbrous Latinisms and a hopeless use of the superlative." He studies law and takes his place at the bar, and then among the anxious men of the period just as they are about to shape new political conditions, and fight for them. His ready mind, his breadth of vision, and his promptness in action, brings him into responsible positions, while yet his youth is more conspicuous than his genius. One of the best chapters of the book is entitled, "Finances: the Treaty of Peace," in which we find Morris the author of a series of essays on the financial condition of the country, recommending an excellent scheme of taxation, as well as assistant financier with Robert Morris for three and a half years; and in spirited correspondence with Jay and other statesmen concerning the negotiations for peace that were going forward in Europe. Mr. Roosevelt has fortunately had access to hitherto unpublished letters from Morris to Jay and from Jay to Morris, which throw fresh light on the stumbling methods of Congress at that momentous period, and the necessity for the independent action of our peace commissioners. The "Formation of the Constitution," is also an important chapter of the work. Mr. Roosevelt never loses sight of the picturesque background of politics, war-government, and diplomacy, as he brings the pen-portrait of Morris to the front; but he gives us such a view of the real man as no

writer has done heretofore. Morris kept a full diary during his nine years abroad, "and his wonderful insight into character, his sense of humor, and his power of graphic description all combine to make his comments on the chief men and events of the day a unique record of the inside history of western Europe during the tremendous convulsions of the French revolution. He is always an entertaining and in all matters of fact a trustworthy writer." Morris did not appreciate the French disturbances, the immediate outcome of which was to be Napoleon's despotism. As a far-sighted statesman Morris despised the theorists who began the revolution, and, as a humane and honorable man, abhorred the black-hearted wretches who carried it on. "His writings," says Mr. Roosevelt, "preserve for us his views in detail on almost every important question that came up during his stay in Europe; couched, moreover, in telling, piquant sentences that leave room for hardly a dull line in either letters or diary. No sooner had he arrived in Paris than he sought out Jefferson, the American minister, and Lafayette. They engaged him to dine on the two following nights. He presented his various letters of introduction, and in a very few weeks, by his wit, tact, and ability, had made himself completely at home in what was by far the most brilliant and attractive—although, also, the most hopelessly unsound—fashionable society of any European capital. He got on equally well with fine ladies, philosophers, and statesmen; was as much at his ease in the salons of the one as at the dinner-tables of the other; and at all times observed and noted down, with the same humorous zest, the social peculiarities of his new friends, as well as the tremendous march of political events. Indeed, it is difficult to know whether to set the higher value on his penetrating observations concerning public affairs, or on his witty, light, half-satirical sketches of the men and women of the world with whom he was thrown in contact, told in his usual charming and effective style. No other American of note has left us writings half so humorous and amusing, filled, too, with information of the greatest value."

**FIRST STEPS WITH AMERICAN AND BRITISH AUTHORS.** By ALBERT F. BLAISDELL, A. M. [English Literature for Young People.] 16mo, pp. 345. Boston, 1888. Lee & Shepard.

The author tells his readers in the beginning of this volume that "to study English literature, is to become acquainted with the writings of the great authors who have made it what it is. It is to get at the characteristics of those master minds whose works have been universally accepted as classics." He says, "Most books worth reading once are worth reading twice; and the masterpieces of literature are worth reading a thousand times." And, acting on this basis, he has prepared a hand-book of selections and suggestions that is practically useful, and will serve as the beginning to a systematic course of study in English literature. It is an introduction to the best authors, although the ambitious scholar is not advised to rest content with merely studying this book. He is expected to go further. Questions are introduced calculated to stir thought and lead to critical investigation. It is recommended that pupils be required to state the impressions produced on them by reading a work: what they think its leading features are, or what they imagine to be the object which its author had in view in writing it. If there is a plot its probability may be discussed. If the theme of the work is one that has been treated by other writers, attention may be directed to differences of treatment, and parallel passages should be cited. Then, again, committing choice passages to memory is like sewing good seed in the ground, which brings forth in after years a bountiful harvest. One chapter is devoted to an "Outline Course of Study," and another, entitled "Miscellaneous Subjects," is extremely valuable. The book is one we cordially recommend to teachers, who will readily discover its limits and its possibilities. It needs only to be known to become extensively popular.





SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

FROM THE MINIATURE PORTRAIT BY HIS PUPIL, ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

*[Original painting in possession of Mrs. J. M. Goddard, granddaughter of Archibald Robertson.]*

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## THE CONQUEST OF THE MAYAS

MONTEJO IN THE INTERIOR, AND FOUNDATION OF MERIDA

*(Part II. Continued from page 396.)*

Having fully determined to remain some time at Chichén Itzá, the Adelantado tried to persuade the inhabitants that he had their welfare at heart and was anxious to do everything in his power for their good. Following these tactics he won a few to his side, and caused them to help in building dwellings like their own, to form a village for the Spaniards, a hundred and seventy taking up their abode there; the rest were to station themselves in other parts of the country. In remembrance of his birth-place Montejo called the new settlement Salamanca.

The seeming docility and good will of the people of Chichén threw the Spaniards completely off their guard, and believing that they would have no difficulty in obtaining provisions they did not even take the precaution to send to their ships for anything. They had not been long there when the Spanish general undertook to allot so many natives to each soldier, that his men might thus have all their wants supplied by the exaction of services and tributes. Whatever these of Chichén thought about this arrangement they held their peace for the time being, and the Spaniards failed to comprehend the true state of their mind.

Gold was what the white men most desired, this wish being freely expressed and generally known. The chiefs showed Montejo their map of the country, and persuaded him that gold mines existed in the Province of Bakhahal, now Bacalar, in the southeast part of the peninsula. He therefore decided to send a party thither, accompanied by several natives, and commended by Captain Alonzo Davila. It was quite satisfactory to the people, who wished nothing better than to see the white men separated into small groups, far from each other. The Adelantado was undoubtedly rash in thus dividing his forces, and probably would not have done so but for the reason that his soldiers were greatly discouraged and discontented because as yet they had found none of the precious metal.